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The First Aldine*

By CURT F. BÜHLER

THE book that is the subject of this study is not, as might be suspected from the title, the first book issued by the Aldine Press but rather the first work which, it is believed, Aldus Manutius wrote and caused to be printed—the *Musarum Panagyris.* It might appear to be strange that a book which has been known to the world of bibliography for nearly a century and a half, which was reprinted in its entirety early in the nineteenth century by Morelli[1] and which was listed by Renouard[2] should never have received—so far as can be determined—a full-dress bibliographical description, any sort of typographical investigation, or a modern discussion of its contents. The explanation for this appears to be relatively simple. Only four copies of the original edition were known to the distinguished bibliographer of Aldus, and one of these four is now in The Pierpont Morgan Li-

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Philadelphia, June 5, 1948.

[1] *Aldi Pii Manutii Scripta tria longe rarissima a Iacobo Morellio denuo edita et illustrata* (Bassani, Typis Remondinianis, 1806).

[2] A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris, Jules Renouard, 1834), p. 257, no. 1.

brary.[3] Even Morelli's reprint of 1806 is seemingly nearly as hard to find. There is no copy of it in any of the great New York libraries and the Union Catalogue knows of but one example in America (at Harvard), so that the reprint—in this country, at least—seems to be as scarce as the original. As for the discussions of the literary contents of the work, the accounts given by Morelli, Renouard, Firmin-Didot[4] and Schück[5] are textually quite correct, but they need supplementing. In particular, these scholars have failed to observe the curious inconsistencies and contradictions which are inherent in the text of the volume and their conclusions upon it. Finally, no one, it would seem, has asked himself the very pertinent questions—why and when was the work written and when and why did Aldus have it printed?

The bibliographical annotations are equally scanty and incomplete. Morelli assigned the *Musarum Panagyris* to a press with which Antonio Moreto was connected and Renouard has styled this press "apud Antonium Moretum Brixiensem." No such printing-house, however, is listed by modern bibliographies, though Moretus[6] is known as an occasional publisher who employed various presses to print for him. The two books[7] cited by Morelli as publications by Moretus are now believed to have been printed with the types of Damianus of Gorgonzola, but the earliest work known to have been produced by this printer is dated 29 March 1493. The *Musarum Panagyris*, as we shall see,

[3] Ada Thurston and Curt F. Bühler, *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1939), no. 904. This was Renouard's own copy. The copy owned by the Biblioteca Queriniana (Brescia) is presumably still there, while one of the two examples formerly in private hands is now in the John Rylands Library; compare the *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, J. E. Cornish, 1899), II: 1145.

[4] A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Vénise* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1875), pp. 9-11.

[5] J. Schück, *Aldus Manutius und seine Zeitgenossen in Italien und Deutschland* (Berlin, Dümmler, 1862), pp. 107-115.

[6] Compare BMC VII: 1142/1143.

[7] Sabellicus, *De situ urbis Venetae* (H 14056; BMC V:544) and Leonardus Aretinus, *Epistolae familiares* (H 1567; BMC V:512).

must have been printed several years before that. The detailed bibliographical description[8] of this book is as follows:

MANUTIUS, ALDUS. Musarum Panagyris. [Venice: Baptista de Tortis, after March 1487 and before March 1491.]

Renouard, p. 257; Morgan *Check List* 904; *Census* M 195.

Quarto. 8 leaves, the first blank. a^8. 29 lines. Type-page (f. 5): 162 x 99 mm. Types: 1*:114R* (with Q/u), 78 Gk.

f. 1, blank. 2-a2: Musarū Panagyris per Aldum Mannucciū Bassianatē || latinum cū exasticho & parænesi eiusdē ad Albertū || Pium Magnificum: atq_3 inclytum Carpi principem. || Exastichon. || Carmina delectant pueros: en carmina princeps: || Dant ad te faciles ex Helicone deæ. || . . . [ends 8^v-$a8^v$, 1. 25]: Hunc ubi tu scieris longe maiora dabuntur || Dona tibi: pro te quæ tuus Aldus habet. || FINIS. ||

Contents: Musarum Panagyris (a2-a3 verso, l. 6); Parænesis Aldi Mannuccii ad eundem principem (a3 verso, l. 7 - a4, l. 17); Hesiodus in Theogonia de nominibus Musarum [3 Greek lines with Latin translation] (a4, ll. 18-25); Aldus Mannuccius Bassianas latinus Catharinæ Piæ Principi clarissimæ ac prudentissimæ. S. P. D. [Letter from Aldus to Caterina Pio] (a4, l. 26 - a8, l. 25); Aldus Mannuccius Bassianas latinus Alberto Pio principi Carpensi. S. P. D. [Verse epistle from Aldus to Alberto] (a8, l. 26 - a8 verso, l. 26).

First edition. The copy in The Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 22035) measures 215 x 150 mm. and is bound in nineteenth-century blue morocco, gilt. From the collection of Antoine Augustin Renouard. Other copies are in the John Rylands Library (Manchester) and in the Biblioteca Queriniana (Brescia).

Turning first of all to the literary contents—the why and when of the work's composition—it can be conveniently summarized as follows. The work contains two poems by Aldus in honor of his pupil Alberto Pio, an extract in Greek and Latin from Hesiod,[9] a letter from Aldus to Alberto's mother Catherine, and concludes with another poem for Alberto. The verse portions of the work may be consulted in Renouard's book[10] so that they need not occupy much of our time. The sentiments and exhortations found therein were obviously set down for some one quite young—and the Latin is sufficiently simple so that anyone familiar with

[8] The form of this description is that which I outlined in the Rosenbach lecture of 1947.

[9] Lines 77-79 of the *Theogony*. The whole *Theogonia* appears for the first time in Aldus's own edition of Theocritus, February 1495/1496 (Hain 15477).

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 538-540.

the language can read it without benefit of dictionary or grammar. It may be added that the last poem is clearly a preface to a grammatical work which Aldus had written[11] and which, he says, he had presented to Alberto shortly before writing the letter to the boy's mother. It is certain, therefore, that the *Musarum Panagyris* was written by Aldus at Carpi where he resided as tutor to the young princes of Carpi between 1483 and 1490.[12]

It is, however, the letter from Aldus to the mother of Alberto and Leonello Pio which deserves a closer scrutiny than that bestowed on it by earlier bibliographers and students of Aldus. True enough, the bare outlines of the contents were analyzed by Firmin-Didot, but this analysis tells us little more than may be found in the text as reprinted, according to the standards of the early nineteenth century, by Morelli.[13] This faulty version was subsequently reprinted by Julius Schück. In brief, Aldus explains in the letter to Catherine the precepts he is following in the education of her sons and expends much time in emphasizing the importance of a thorough grounding in Greek and Latin. Why did he write the letter? Surely the elder sister of Pico della Mirandola was in no need of a lecture from a young scholar on the value of a classical training. The letter contains a number of classical clichés drawn from various sources, including the lines from Horace which (then as now) must have been familiar to anyone at all acquainted with the classics:[14]

[11] Aldus says:

Accipe nunc igitur paruum : mea munera: librum
Conscriptum nuper: compositumq*ue* mihi.

[12] These are the dates given by Schück and accepted by the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (XII: 182). Some authorities believe that Aldus went to Venice in 1488/1489 but this seems too early. The letter from Pico to Aldus with date 11 February 1490 (Schück, pp. 115-116) speaks of a Homer which Aldus had requested and which Pico was sending from Florence. It is likely that Aldus would have had greater difficulty in getting the Homer in Carpi than he would have had if at that time he was in Venice. It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that this letter was sent to Aldus when he was still in Carpi.

[13] Spelling and punctuation are modern, while misprints have been corrected. There are occasional misreadings.

[14] *Ars poetica*, lines 323-324 and 268-269 (ed. R. Bentley, Cambridge, 1711, pp. 304 and 302).

Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.

And again Aldus quotes:

... Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.

The epistle to Catherine also includes two Greek passages borrowed from Aulus Gellius.[15] The first quotation is a letter from King Philip to Aristotle announcing the birth of Alexander and expressing the hope that the child might be taught by him; the second is a letter from Alexander to Aristotle[16] concerning the publication of certain of the philosopher's lectures. Oddly enough (and this is another point that escaped both Morelli and Schück) Aldus did not use the Latin translation which Gellius thoughtfully provided for the first extract but supplied one of his own. On the whole Aldus' rendering is better—in any case more Ciceronian, and consequently easier Latin—than Gellius'. This may offer a clue as to the very reason for the composition of the letter—namely that it was intended to show the boy's mother that Aldus knew his business, that he was capable of writing a good Ciceronian style and that he was fully acquainted with the works of classical antiquity. Further citations from scholars of his own era were meant to indicate that Aldus was equally aware of more recent trends in thought and education. Among those of his contemporaries whose learning and wisdom he praised were the boy's uncle, Pico della Mirandola, Zacharias Barbarus and his distinguished son Ermolao, and Federigo, Duke of Urbino, "qui pariter et armorum et liberalium disciplinarum gloria excelluit."

As we have seen, the *Musarum Panagyris* must have been written before Aldus went to Venice, but to limit the date any further offers serious complications. The earliest date for a *terminus a quo*

[15] *Noctes Atticae*, IX. iii, 6 and XX. v. 11 (Venice, Aldus, 1515, ff. 120 and 284).

[16] This letter is also cited in Plutarch's "Life of Alexander." It is probable, however, that Aldus took both excerpts from Gellius.

is that which is given by Schück by implication. Hermolaus Barbarus is referred to in the text as an "eques." In explanation of this, Schück[17] points out that the Italian was knighted by the Emperor Frederick III in August 1486 following a laudatory address which Ermolao presented at Bruges in his rôle as Venetian ambassador. Since, however, Ermolao's father is also spoken of as an "eques"—and since Zacharias, the procurator of St. Mark's, is not known to have received the accolade—it does not follow that Aldus in using this term was necessarily referring to Ermolao as a German "Ritter." August 1486 does not, therefore, serve as a critical date.

Morelli, in turn, believed that the letter to Catherine was written at some time after May 1487 when Pietro Barozzi was translated from the see of Belluno to that of Padua, since Barozzi is here cited as Bishop of Padua. Schück, however, following Cardinal Quirini, maintained that Barozzi became Bishop of Padua in 1488—but in this he is not supported by the *Series Episcoporum* of Gams[18] who also gives the date as May 1487.

But all these dates involve a contradiction which Morelli and Schück failed to note. Aldus' letter is specifically addressed to Catherine Pio—but by May 1488 (or 1487), or even by August 1486, Catherine was no longer the widow of Leonello Pio but the wife of Rodolfo Gonzaga. The exact date of this marriage[19] has so far eluded me (the Gonzagas for good and sufficient reasons

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 114, note 2.

[18] P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Leipzig, K. Hiersemann, 1931), pp. 777 and 798. According to Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (2 ed., Münster, 1913-1923), II: 210, Barozzi became Bishop of Padua on 14 March 1487.

[19] No date is given in the standard work by Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri Italiane* (Milan, 1819-1910) under the tables for Pio (I. xii. 3), Pico (I. x. 3) or Gonzaga (III. xxxiii. 16). According to Aglauro Ungherini, *Manuel de bibliographie biographique et d'iconographie des femmes célèbres* (Turin, 1892-1905), Suppl., col. 433, the marriage took place in 1477; this, however, is an impossible date as her first husband was then still alive. Through the courtesy of the Centro Nazionale di Informazioni Bibliografiche in Rome, I learn that G. Silingardi states in his *Caterina Pico. Cenni storici* (Modena, 1876) that Catherine was married to Rodolfo "negli ultimi giorni del 1484" but that it was impossible to confirm this statement.

seem to have destroyed all the pertinent records) but an approximate one can be determined.[20] During the Christmas festivities of 1483 Rodolfo conveniently and under somewhat mysterious circumstances "liquidated" his first wife—Antonia or Anna, the daughter of Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini—and it must have been just a year later that he espoused Catherine Pio. The Archivio di Stato at Mantua[21] contains a letter written on 3 January 1485 wherein Rodolfo Gonzaga informed his chancellor (Leonardo di S. Gemeniano) that with the consent of the Marquis of Mantua and the "consiglio dei maggiorenti" he had married "Caterina da Carpi" who was furnished with a dowry of 12,000 ducats; furthermore, he asked that the news be kept confidential. Again Rodolfo wrote the Marchese himself on January 15 of the same year that he was now married to Catherine; this probably was an official announcement. Other records indicate that Rodolfo was quite ill in November of the previous year, so that one would not be far wrong to infer that the wedding had taken place towards the end of December 1484. Why, then, if the letter was written to Catherine after August 1486, or May 1487 (as the case may be) was it not addressed to her as Catherine Gonzaga?

The contradictions into which Schück's own arguments led him are curious. The German scholar assumed that the *Musarum Panagyris* was written in 1488 but, as he himself acknowledged, the last poem to Alberto speaks of a grammatical work which Aldus had recently presented to the young Prince of Carpi. The literary allusions in the text clearly show that the presentation took place about the time of the great pagan festival of the Saturnalia —and the grammar might well have been intended as Aldus'

[20] The date of the wedding is not given in the exhaustive study by Felice Ceretti, *Biografie pichensi*, in: *Memorie storiche della città e dell'antico ducato della Mirandola* (Mirandola, 1872-1916), Vols. XVII-XX, nor in his numerous papers in the various *Atti e memorie* for the provinces of Emilia, Modena, and Parma.

[21] I am deeply obliged to Dr. Giovanni Praticò, the Director of the Archivio di Stato in Mantua, for supplying me with this information from the Gonzaga archives.

"strena" to Alberto. Aldus, furthermore, expressly stated that the work he thus presented was a treatise on accents; in short, it was an elementary tract for a beginner in Greek. Is it conceivable that Aldus, coming to Carpi about the year 1484, should wait four years before beginning his instructions in that tongue. It seems hardly likely. In 1484 Alberto was nine years old; would Aldus have waited until the boy was thirteen before beginning to teach him the language of Homer? In the second decade of the twentieth century, an average and none too brilliant student like myself was subjected at the age of ten to "amo, amas, amat." A year or two later I can remember acquiring (somewhat informally, it is true—I was even then a book collector) a Greek Grammar with the strange notion that if I had once mastered the alphabet I should forthwith be able to read Greek. The disillusionment was complete! In any case, it is altogether likely that an Italian boy of the Renaissance began to learn Greek before he was ten.[22] Politian, it will be recalled,[23] was sent to Florence at that age to study under Callistus and Argyropoulos. Even the daughters of the nobility were occasionally taught Greek in their early youth, for it is a matter of record that Cecilia Gonzaga[24] was already studying

[22] Compare, for example, the letter from Ambrogio Camaldolese to Niccolo Niccoli printed by Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum, historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1724-1733), III:554-555: "Posteaquam scripseram & obsignaveram litteras, profectus ut viserem Victorinum, graecamque ipsius discuterem bibliothecam, occurrit ille nobis cum filiis principis, maribus duobus, & puella septem annorum. Major ex his XI. minor V. annorum est. Duo item alii pueri X. ferme annorum singuli dominorum aliorum filii. . . . Principis filios & puellam graecas docet litteras, omnesque graece scribere didicerunt. Novem sunt ferme pueri, qui scribunt adeo venuste, ut miratus sim. Vidi Chrysostomi traductionem ab uno ex discipulis ejus factam, satisque placuit." Ambrogio, of course, is speaking of the famous school of Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua; compare also his letter to Cosimo de' Medici (cols. 451-454).

[23] John A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, The Revival of Learning* (London, John Murray, 1929), p. 250: "At the age of ten he came to study in the University of Florence, where he profited by the teaching of Landino, Argyropoulos, Andronicus Kallistos, and Ficino. The precocity of his genius displayed itself in Latin poems and Greek epigrams composed while he was yet a boy."

[24] William H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge, University Press, 1897), p. 50: "But Cecilia Gonzaga was already learning the [Greek] grammar at the age of seven; and rapidly became proficient;

Greek grammar at seven and Damigella Trivulzio[25] was proficient in that tongue at fourteen. In view of Aldus' inclinations and the brilliance of his pupils it is reasonable to assume that their instruction in Greek began immediately upon the arrival of their new tutor in Carpi. It seems certain that we must set down the *Musarum Panagyris* as belonging to the first year of Aldus' stay with the young Princes. One may well suppose, therefore, that the work was written probably not long before the end of December 1484. We shall have more to say about this later on.

The name of the printer and the *terminus ad quem* for the printing of the *Musarum Panagyris,* though somewhat easier to determine, were not established by the scholars already mentioned. Upon the evidence of the types, the book was certainly printed at Venice at the press of Baptista de Tortis; it is equally clear that this volume must have been produced before the middle of March 1491. The celebrated Humanist, Hermolaus Barbarus, is cited in the text of Aldus' letter as "the glory and ornament of the most powerful and illustrious Venetian Senate." On the seventh of March, 1491, Ermolao was created Patriarch of Aquileia.[26] Barbaro's acceptance of this appointment was a direct violation of the laws of the Republic which forbade an ambassador to accept any major honor or reward without first securing permission to do so.[27] Barbaro's dispensing with this formality proved so offensive to the Venetian government that he was promptly banished from the Republic and never saw his native city again. It is scarce likely that a Venetian printer would have compromised himself by printing such glowing praise of anyone who had recently incurred the displeasure of the Senate; one may, therefore, assume

and possibly her brother Gianlucido had begun even earlier." Compare also pp. 31 and 54-55.

[25] Jacobus Philippus Foresti [Bergomensis], *De claris selectisque mulieribus* (Ferrara, de Rubeis, 1497), sign. z4: "et grecarum breui tempore acquisiuerit non vulgarem noticiam: adeo vt iam concine grecum proferat sermonem."

[26] Gams, *op. cit.*, p. 774.

[27] Compare Schück, p. 114, note 1.

that the volume was printed before this event had taken place. The *Musarum Panagyris* can thus be confidently dated as having been printed not later than March 1491 nor before March or May 1487 since (as we have seen) Barozzi is cited as Bishop of Padua.

Nor is the selection by Aldus of Baptista de Tortis as the printer for his booklet a matter of surprise. Although more than 150 different presses produced books in Venice during the fifteenth century, only thirty-one were in active operation between 1486 and 1491, and but seven of these could be considered prominent presses if judged by the quantity and quality of their output.[28] Aldus would naturally have been most familiar with the names of those houses specializing in classical publications; this, in turn, narrows the field down to three firms, those of Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, Bonetus Locatellus, and Baptista de Tortis. Since Locatellus was a comparative newcomer (and printed no classics before 1490) and since the de Gregoriis firm seems to have experienced financial difficulties between 1486 and 1489[29] and did very little publishing in these years, it seems almost inevitable that Aldus should have turned for the printing of the *Musarum Panagyris* to Baptista de Tortis (half of whose production prior to 1490 had been of a classical nature).

At this point one must pause and survey the answers to the queries that have been posed. So far we have been able to give a likely date (1484) for the composition of the work and have been led to believe that the letter to Catherine was written with a view towards reassuring her as to Aldus' capabilities. It has also been established where, by whom, and approximately when the pamphlet was printed. A reason for the printing of the volume must still be supplied. At first glance, there seems to be no partic-

[28] These figures are obtained from Konrad Haebler, *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke* (Halle & Leipzig, 1905-1922) and Konrad Burger, *The Printers and Publishers of the XV. Century with Lists of their Works* (London, Sotheran, 1902), supplemented by the more recent bibliographies.

[29] See BMC V: xxix.

ular reason *why* it should ever have been printed. Aldus' arguments for the necessity of a classical education are certainly not "dangerously original" and the verse is neither sufficiently elegant nor suitably polished to have commanded the attention of his scholarly colleagues. It is easy to believe that Aldus wrote the poetry for the entertainment of his young pupils, but this in itself is not sufficient reason for explaining the printing of this text. Again it seems hardly likely that Aldus wrote the letter merely to convince the sister of Pico of the importance of studying the classics. Finally it is *highly* unlikely that Alberto and Leonello Pio would have had any choice in the matter anyway—so they needed no convincing. Whatever their tastes may have been at that time, Aldus was certainly going to teach them Latin and Greek—of that one can be very sure!

However speculative it may be, only one explanation presents itself to me, namely that Aldus printed the letter to Catherine for the primary purpose of providing himself with a sort of propaganda booklet. Aldus had for long been planning to establish his own press and he was clearly in need of some form of advance publicity before invading the highly competitive publishing business at Venice. Surely it is no coincidence that shortly after the appearance of this volume, Aldus began printing exactly those books which were suitable for the purposes he had outlined in the letter to Catherine. If he actually did send the epistle to Catherine—and there is nothing to indicate that he did not send it—the address would prove that he wrote it in 1484 before her marriage to Rodolfo Gonzaga, and this date, as we have seen, is confirmed by the literary contents of the volume. That Barozzi appears in the printed version as the Bishop of Padua and not of Belluno presents no particular difficulty. At the time he revised the manuscript and sent it to de Tortis, Aldus may simply have corrected what he took to be a slip on his part; that is, when he forwarded the manuscript to the printer he knew Barozzi as Bishop of Padua and did not recall that, when the letter was originally written,

Barozzi was still Bishop of Belluno. Aldus must here have corrected what he believed to be an earlier mistake. He would not, however, have dared to tamper with the heading of the letter and would have preserved it in the form in which it was originally written. This would explain why the letter is addressed to Catherine Pio (it was written or sent prior to Catherine's marriage to Rodolfo Gonzaga) and that it was both written and printed as a form of self-promotional literature.

Such evidence as we have, then, leads one to believe that Aldus wrote the contents of the volume now known as the *Musarum Panagyris* in 1484 and that he had it printed by Baptista de Tortis between 1487 and 1491 as a bit of advance publicity for the distinguished career which was subsequently to be his at Venice.

Before closing I should very much like to make one further comment. Dr. W. W. Greg has made the somewhat startling suggestion—a curious slip, it seems to me, on the part of the foremost bibliographer of our day—that "bibliography has nothing to do with the subject-matter of books."[30] Indeed I have always felt rather strongly that the contents of a book often give us information absolutely invaluable to the bibliographer and that the subject-matter cannot—and should not—be lightly dismissed as of no bibliographical significance. In the case of the *Musarum Panagyris*, for example, the literary content is of signal importance since it tells us not only when and why the book was written but also when—and most probably why—it was printed.

[30] *Bibliography—an Apologia*, in: *The Library* (Oxford University Press, 1932-1933), 4th ser., XIII:114.

Casting Off Copy by Elizabethan Printers: A Theory*

By William H. Bond

WE are accustomed to the idea that in the sixteenth century, as today, the text of a book was normally set up consecutively. Thus, if we consider a quarto in fours, we assume that the compositor began by setting the first page of the outer forme of a certain gathering, then set the first two pages of the inner forme, then the second and third pages of the outer forme, then the third and fourth of the inner, and last the fourth page of the outer forme; and so on through the book. Or, if the book were split among two or more compositors, each would set his portion consecutively. Exceptions will come to mind—for example, a paginary reprint might easily be set up forme by forme from the sheets of an earlier edition—but consecutive composition is generally accepted as virtually axiomatic.[1]

The corollaries are sufficiently familiar. The inner forme will be completely in type before the outer, and hence may go to the press first; conversely, all but the last page of a one-sheet gathering must be in type before any of it can be printed. Perhaps the most interesting corollary was stated by Dr. McKerrow: "When we come across a clear case of the same material (initial letters, ornaments, &c.) being used more than once in a gathering, we may infer, with little or no risk of error, that we are dealing with a page-for-page reprint of an earlier edition." Dr. McKerrow's

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Philadelphia, June 5, 1948.

[1] The standard (and also the clearest) account of the problems of composition and imposition as they bear on the matter at hand is to be found in R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, 2nd impression (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928), pp. 29-34 and also p. 18, n. 2.

discussion, which I cite not to contradict but because, as usual, his is the definitive statement of the matter, closes with a quotation from Moxon:

> But no wise *Compositer*, except he work on *Printed Copy* that runs *Sheet* for *Sheet*, will be willing to *Compose* more *Sheets* to a *Quire* than he shall have a *Fount* of *Letter* large enough to set out, unless he will take upon him the trouble of *Counting off* his *Copy*, because he cannot *Impose* till he has *Set* to the last *Page* of that *Quire*; all the other *Sheets* being *Quired* within the first *Sheet*, and the last *Page* of the *Quire* comes in the first *Sheet*.

Not all of Moxon's statement is germane to the problem we have to consider, but it contains one phrase to which insufficient attention has been directed: "unless he will take upon him the trouble of *Counting off* his *Copy*." The compositor could set and impose one forme at a time if he counted off or cast off—that is, *estimated*—the amount of copy for the pages of the *other* forme of the gathering occupying his attention. On the face of it this would appear to be a cumbersome method, to be used only in exceptional cases. Yet there exists evidence which I believe demonstrates its employment in a fair number of publications by three different printers whose combined careers extend over more than fifty years of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. Most of the cases I can cite were observed in the course of a systematic examination of the earlier publications of Thomas Marshe, who printed from 1554 to 1587;[2] two additional examples from the presses of Thomas Creede and of Henry Bynneman were discovered entirely by accident. I have not studied the other work of Creede and Bynneman, nor have I attempted any proper survey of their contemporaries. This is admittedly in the nature of a preliminary report. But I have no doubt that evidence of the type I shall describe is to be found in the work of still other printers. At

[2] The study of Marshe was begun at the Folger Shakespeare Library under the grant of a research fellowship; this work was prematurely terminated by the war and has not yet been resumed on any considerable scale. My debt of gratitude is none the less great to the late director of the Folger, Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams, for the opportunity to begin the project.

any rate, its incidence is sufficiently great to remove it from the class of mere freaks. And if my interpretation of this evidence is correct, we shall have to revise some of our notions of Elizabethan printing-house practice and state some of our theoretical rules concerning it in less dogmatic terms.

The demonstration begins with a convention older than printing itself: that (barring variations in the size of the handwriting or the type, or other similar factors) there should be a fixed number of lines to the page throughout a normally and properly made manuscript or printed book. Variations from the norm are a familiar phenomenon in printing of all periods. They arise from deletions or insertions, or simply from careless mistakes. Whether caused by alterations in the text or by errors, we might expect them to appear pretty much at random. That is, in a carelessly printed book we should find overset and underset pages scattered throughout, with a roughly equivalent distribution of irregular pages in the outer and the inner formes of the respective gatherings. But in the books which I am about to cite, pages with too few or too many lines do *not* appear at random. There is a striking regularity about their occurrence which we may well examine more closely and attempt to explain on grounds other than careless error.

The simplest and perhaps the most striking example is the first edition of John Dolman's translation, *Those fyue Questions, which Marke Tullye Cicero, disputed in his Manor of Tusculanum*, printed by Thomas Marshe in 1561.[3] This is an octavo of 224 leaves, signed ¶^{8}, B-Z^{8}, A-E^{8}. The text runs from B1 to the second E6^{v}, and is normally set 27 lines to the page. But excluding the beginnings and endings of the five sections, where headings necessitate a certain irregularity, and also sigs. K1^{v}-K4^{v}, which contain verse set three stanzas to the page, no fewer than 92 pages have either more or fewer than 27 lines. The variation runs from 24 to 29.

[3] *S.T.C.* 5317. I have examined the Lockton-Morris (perfect) and Farmer (imperfect) copies at the Folger, and the perfect Aldenham copy at Harvard.

Of the 27 gatherings of text, 23 include at least one irregular page.[4]

In only one case do irregularities occur in *both* formes of a single gathering; and except for four pages in sig. I, five in S, one in Y, three in A, and one in the second D, every instance of wrong lineation occurs in an *inner* forme. This hardly looks like the hand of chance incarnate in a careless compositor.

The headlines are also worthy of some attention. On the versos they read "Liber"; on the rectos, "Primus," "Secundus," and so on, as appropriate to the matter. It can be demonstrated from typographical irregularities that basically only one set of headlines was used throughout, on both inner and outer formes of every sheet, the only modification being in the book-numbers. Even here a certain consistency is to be seen: in quires S through Y, the "Q" of "Quartus" is damaged in a distinctive manner in the setting printed regularly on the third and fourth rectos. From Z to the end of the volume, the same damaged "Q" appears in "Quintus" and is still on the third and fourth rectos of every quire. It is evident that even when forced to change his headlines, Marshe changed them as little as possible.

Since one set of headlines was used throughout, it follows that there was never more than one forme imposed at a time. Perhaps there was never more than one forme *ready for imposition—i.e.*, completely in type—at a time, although this is not a necessary conclusion. A consideration of the linear irregularities will now carry us a long step forward. Why should the pages of the outer formes be generally correct, while the pages of the inner formes are frequently incorrect?

[4] A list of all irregular pages (italicized figures represent pages of the outer forme; all others are inner forme): B1^{v},2; C2,3^{v},4; D2,6,8; E1^{v},2,6,7^{v},8; F1^{v},2,4,5^{v},6,8; G3^{v},4,6,8; H2,4,5^{v},6; *I4^{v},5,6^{v},7*; L1^{v},2,4,5^{v},6,8; M7^{v},8; N5^{v},8; O1^{v},4,5^{v},6,7^{v},8; P1^{v},2,4,6,7^{v},8; Q1^{v},3^{v},4,5^{v},6,7^{v},8; R1^{v},2,3^{v},4,7^{v},8; *S2^{v},3,4^{v},5,6^{v}*; T5^{v},6,7^{v},8; X3^{v},7^{v},8; *Y2^{v}*; Z6,7^{v},8; A4, *4^{v},5,7*; C8; *D6^{v}*; E3^{v},4,5^{v},6. The following pages were excepted from consideration: ¶1-8^{v}; B1; I1,1^{v}; K1^{v}-4^{v}; M8^{v}; N1; S1,1^{v}; Y6,6^{v}; E6^{v}-8^{v}. For an explanation of apparent inconsistencies, see note 7 below.

Let us suppose that the compositor set the first page of his quire to the standard number of lines, *cast off* an estimated two pages, set two more pages, cast off two more, and so on until the outer forme was completely in type, its pages all perfectly regular. The text of the inner forme would still be in manuscript. He then imposed the outer forme, complete with headlines, and turned it over to the pressman. Casting off is a difficult task; a prose manuscript,[5] especially if written in a crabbed hand or heavily corrected and interlined, would be hard to cast off accurately. In the case of Dolman's Cicero, we may suppose that the compositor's estimates were frequently at fault, with the result already observed: in many quires that forme which had been cast off (usually the inner forme) was either overset or underset. This is hypothesis, but I believe it would be difficult or impossible to account in any other reasonable way for the phenomenon.[6]

It is not clear from Dolman's Cicero which portion of the copy next engaged the compositor's attention. He may have set the inner forme of each quire while its outer forme was printing, or he may have gone on to the outer forme of the next quire. A third possibility is that he may have waited until the outer forme was printed off and distributed before composing any more of the text. If his supply of type were really limited, such a measure might be necessary to avoid running out of sorts.[7]

[5] It need scarcely be pointed out that a poetical manuscript, dramatic or otherwise, would present little difficulty in casting off, being already divided into lines; therefore we need not expect to find evidence of the type here discussed in other than prose works.

[6] It is worth noting that, in Dolman's Cicero as well as in the other books which will be discussed, overset pages frequently present a crowded appearance and often lack catchwords. This suggests that there was *no room* for the extra line which the catchword occupied, which in turn indicates that the printer's error was in his estimate of the amount of text required to fill the pages, and not in his counting of lines of type. Conversely, underset pages generally exhibit large white areas and other text-stretching devices.

[7] Before leaving the evidence presented by the Cicero it might be observed that several of its apparent inconsistencies are capable of plausible explanation. In sigs. I, S, and Y new sections begin in the inner formes; it is therefore not altogether surprising to find the compositor reversing his usual procedure in those quires by setting up the inner forme first and casting off the outer.

An example which introduces new complications is the first edition of Nicholas Haward's translation of *A briefe Chronicle* by Eutropius, printed by Marshe in 1564.[8] This is an octavo of 136 leaves, signed A^8, B^4, C-R^8, S^4; B4 is a blank. Fifteen pages (again excluding the preliminaries and the endings and beginnings of sections) vary from the norm of 24 lines to the page; in no case do these errors occur in both formes of the same gathering; and all but one occur in the inner formes of the several sheets.[9] Ten of the 15½ sheets of text contain at least one irregular page. As in the Cicero, a single set of headlines is used throughout on both formes of every sheet. But in this volume foliation numbers are printed with the headlines, and these tell us a little more of the progress of the book through the press. The inner forme of sheet C repeats the numerals printed on and proper to outer C.[10] The foliation of outer I reappears on inner I and again on outer K. Inner K bears the foliation numbers proper to outer L; while inner N bears the numerals of inner M with some transposition.[11] Inner O bears the numerals proper to outer P, and inner R the numerals of inner Q.

Now it is surely safe to assume that these errors of foliation indicate, as far as they go, the order through the press of the formes in which they occur; that a compositor would be likely to set up the foliation numbers correctly for the pages at hand, and then mistakenly permit them to remain standing for another set of

[8] *S.T.C.* 10579. I have examined the Folger copy, in which leaves S_3 and S_4 and the blank B_4 are supplied from another copy, and the perfect Harvard copy which is in contemporary vellum wrappers.

[9] Irregular pages (outer forme in italics): C4; *D7*; F4; I4; K8; L_1^v, 5^v, 6; M_3^v,4,5^v,7^v; O4; P4; Q6. Excluded: A1-B_4^v; C1; D2, 2^v; E8, 8^v; G_3^v,4; H7, 7^v; I_5^v,6; L4,4^v; N_3^v,4; P1, 1^v; Q8, 8^v; S_4^v. It should be noted that Book II begins on D_2^v of the inner forme, possibly accounting for the linear error in D7 of the outer; see note 7, above.

[10] This discussion disregards the fact that towards the end of the book all the numerals are more or less in error. It is the printer's intention, not his accuracy, which bears on the point at hand.

[11] This transposition would automatically take place if the wrought-off forme, inner M, was accidentally reversed when placed on the letter-board for stripping, and its furniture and headlines then transferred to inner N, the forme next made up.

pages, rather than the reverse. Thus, while the evidence of the number of lines per page (as I have interpreted it) indicates that outer formes were almost invariably in type and printed before their respective inner formes, it is clear from the erroneous repetition of the foliation numerals that in a number of instances the sheets were not perfected one by one. Instead, the printing of a forme of *another* sheet intervened between the printing of the two formes of a given sheet. Perhaps this was true of all the sheets, but again this is not a necessary conclusion.

One more example may be worth citing in some detail. This is *A briefe treatise concerning the burnynge of Bucer and Phagius,* an octavo printed by Marshe in 1562.[12] It contains 96 leaves, signed ¶⁴, A-L⁸, M⁴, and has normally 23 lines to the page. Twenty-three pages are overset or underset, of which all but one occur in an inner forme; and again errors never occur in both formes of any one gathering.[13] In this book two separate sets of headlines were used, and they were employed in this manner: the first set appear in both inner and outer A, the second in inner and outer B, the first again in inner and outer C, and so on alternately through the book except for the last two gatherings (a sheet and a half).[14] This demonstrates once again that the inner and outer formes of any one gathering were never imposed concurrently. It would also appear probable in this case that the printing of a forme from another sheet (or even several formes from other sheets) intervened between the printings of the two formes of any given sheet.

An undated book by Marshe, probably printed in 1562, contains similar evidence. This is Jean Veron's *A stronge Defence of the*

[12] *S.T.C.* 3966. I have used the Farmer-Heber-Britwell copy at the Folger, and checked it against a microfilm of the Huntington copy (University Microfilm series, case 31, reel 181).

[13] Irregular pages (outer forme in italics): A2,3ᵛ,4,6; B1ᵛ,2,5ᵛ,6; C8; D7ᵛ; E2,6,7ᵛ; F5ᵛ,6,7ᵛ; G4,8; H2; K2,4,8; *M1*. Excluded: ¶1-4ᵛ; A1; M4ᵛ.

[14] Among other features, the following most readily distinguishes the two sets of headlines: set i reads "Martin Bucer. &c." on the first and second rectos of each gathering in which it appears, and set ii reads "Of martin Bucer. &c." on the first and second rectos. These headlines appear as follows:

maryage of Pryestes, an octavo of 89 leaves having normally 27 lines to the page.[15] Excluding preliminaries, there are 11 exceptions to this standard, all but one in inner formes; one sheet has errors in both formes.[16] It is possible to trace the headlines through the eight gatherings of text, and show once more that two skeletons were used, each appearing in both inner and outer formes of alternate sheets.

I shall cite only one more example from Marshe's press: Laurence Humphrey's *The Nobles or of Nobilitye*, an octavo of 1563.[17] It contains 208 leaves, of which the first 20 are preliminary matter and the last eight a separate and appended work; the remaining 180 leaves are set 27 lines to the page, with the exception of 77 pages, of which all but 14 are in inner formes.[18]

So far all have been octavos, a format much employed by Marshe. Appian's *An Auncient Historie and exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes warres*, published by Ralph Newberry and Henry Bynne-

Quire	*Inner Forme*	*Outer Forme*
A	i	i
B	ii	ii
C	i	i
D	ii	ii
E	i	i
F	ii	ii
G	i	i
H	ii	ii
I	i	i
K	ii	ii
L	i	ii

M (a half-sheet: all headlines from set i)

[15] *S.T.C.* 24687. I have seen only the Herbert-Huth-Harmsworth-Folger copy. Its collation is A-C^8 (C7 and C8 both blank and genuine), a-h^8 (h4+"H.v.").

[16] Irregular pages (outer forme in italics): a4; c8; d1^v, 3^v, 6, 7^v, 8; e1^v, *4*^{v}; g6; h2. Excluded: A1-C8^v, a1, h8-8^v.

[17] *S.T.C.* 13964. I have examined the two copies (one imperfect) in the Folger Library, as well as a microfilm of the Huntington copy (University Microfilm series, case 42, reel 249). The book collates A-B^8, C^4, a-y^8, Aa^8 (Aa8 blank).

[18] Irregular pages (outer forme in italics): *a5,6*^{v}; b2,3^v,4,7^v,8; c1^v,2,3^v,4,5^v, 6; *d4*^{v}, 6; *e4*^{v}, 5, 8; f1^v, 7^v, 8; g1^v, 2; h7^v; i1^v; k2, 4; *l1*, 1^v, *2*^{v}, 3, *4*^{v}, 8; m1^v, 5^v; n4, *4*^{v},5, 6; o4, 5^v, 6; *p3*, 8; q1^v, 2, 4, 5^v, 6, 8; r2, 8; s1^v, 2, 3^v, 6, 7^v, 8; *t1*, 2, 3, 3^v, 4, 5^v, 6; v3^v, 4, 5^v, 6, 7^v, 8; x1^v, 2, 8; y1^v, 4, 6. Excluded: A1-C4^v; a1; k3, 3^v; q7, 7^v; z4, 4^v; Aa1-8^v. It will be noted that six gatherings violate the rule that errors should occur in only one forme of a gathering. Yet the preponderance of errors in inner formes remains great and, I think, convincing.

man in 1578,[19] is a quarto of 370 leaves. About 85 pages are taken up with title-pages, preliminaries, and other matter which naturally does not conform to a set standard; the remaining pages are set 36 lines to the page, but 95 contain more or fewer lines, 83 of these exceptions appearing in inner-forme pages. In six gatherings irregularities appear in both inner and outer formes, and here the element of careless error must be admitted.[20]

The last example which I shall cite is the most important of all, at least in a literary sense. It is Thomas Creede's printing for William Ponsonby of Sir Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poesie*, 1595, a quarto of 35 leaves having normally 32 lines to the page.[21] Eight of its pages, every one of which is in an inner forme, are either overset or underset.[22] This book may be examined in almost any library in the excellent Noel Douglas facsimile. It is instructive to note that the pages which are underset appear to be padded with spaces, giving a much lighter effect than the normal page. Evidently there was need to stretch the matter: in other words, the mistake was not in the compositor's having set the

[19] *S.T.C.* 713. I have examined only the Eames-Harvard copy. This agrees with the description of the second-issue copy in the Pforzheimer collection (W. A. Jackson, *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library*, New York, 1940, I: 13; full collation given under the preceding number in the catalogue, pp. 11-12), except that in the Harvard copy leaf **2 is misbound before leaf *1. Although Newberry and Bynneman received equal prominence on the title-page, the ornaments and initials in the book indicate that Bynneman alone was responsible for the typography.

[20] Irregular pages (outer forme in italics): E4; I4; K1^{v},2,4; L1^{v},2,4; O1^{v}; Q3^{v},4; R4; X2; *Y1*, 1^{v}, 2; Aa3^{v},4; Bb4; Cc1^{v}, 2, 4; Dd1^{v}, 2, 2^{v}, 4; Ee3^{v}, 4; Ff1^{v}, 2, 4; Hh1^{v},2; Kk1^{v}, 2, 3^{v}, 4; Oo4; Qq1^{v}, 2; *Rr2^{v}*; Ss4; Tt3^{v}, 4; Vv1^{v}, 2; Xx3^{v}, 4; *Yy2^{v}*, 4; *Eee1*, 1^{v}, 2, 2^{v}, 3^{v}, 4; b2; *c3*, 3^{v},4, *4^{v}*; e2; g3^{v}, 4; h3^{v}, 4; m2; p4; q4; r2; *t1*, 1^{v}, 2; v2; x2, 4, *4^{v}*; bb2, 3^{v}, 4; cc1^{v}, 2, 3^{v}, 4; ee1^{v}, 2, 4; ii2, 3^{v}, 4; ll1^{v}; mm3^{v}, 4; *nn2^{v}*; *oo1*. Excluded: A1-B4^{v}; C2^{v}; K4^{v}; L1; Y2^{v}, 3; Gg2, 2^{v}; Hh4^{v}; Rr1, 1^{v}; Vv1; Bbb1-Ccc1; Fff2^{v}-a1; k1, 1^{v}; q4^{v}; r1; y3, 3v; iii1; nn1, 1^{v}; oo4^{v}-Qq2^{v}. I have also excluded all of signature hh, where the standard has evidently been increased to 37 lines per page in order to end the section in the Carthaginian wars on hh4^{v}. Granting that to be the case, we find hh3 of the outer forme to have only 36 lines, but hh1^{v} and 3^{v} of the inner forme each contain 38 lines.

[21] *S.T.C.* 22535. I have used the White-Harvard copy (title-page in facsimile), and the Noel Douglas facsimile of the Locker-British Museum copy. The book collates [-]^{1}, B-I^{4}, K^{2}.

[22] Irregular pages: E2; F1^{v}, 2; G2, H2, 4; I1^{v}, 2. I do not find the headlines susceptible of satisfactory identification and analysis in this book.

wrong number of lines for his page of type, but in his having counted off the wrong amount of text to fill his pages. Once again we have presumptive evidence for the alternate setting and casting-off process which I have hypothecated.

We may imagine various reasons why a printer might adopt this process. If his shop were small and his equipment scanty, he would avoid the danger of running out of sorts. A possible mode of procedure is as follows: he might set up the outer forme of gathering A and send it to the press. While it was printing, outer B could be set up. While outer B was printing, inner A could be set up from the counted-off copy; meanwhile the printed sheets of outer A would be drying; and so on. All the while the printer would need but two to three formes standing in type at a time—an important consideration if his founts were limited. Some interval of drying seems to have been necessary to minimize the possibility of offset; in no other reasonable way could he have obtained that interval without either interrupting the printing process or having at least three to four formes in type at a time. In a larger shop the method might be adopted when only a portion of the facilities could be devoted to a given book: for example, when it was necessary to push through a rush job in addition to a normal printing schedule which could not be interrupted.[23] Other reasons may suggest themselves, but limitations of personnel and equipment seem the most likely motivations.

I should like to emphasize once more the point made in the title of this paper: that all this is merely theory. At this stage of

[23] On this point it is interesting to refer once more to the problem of Sidney's *Defence*. Both A. W. Pollard (*The Rowfant Library. A Catalogue*, London, 1886, p. 116) and W. A. Jackson (*The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library*, III: 963-964) conclude from a variety of circumstantial evidence that Olney's edition of 1595, titled *An Apologie for Poetrie*, preceded Ponsonby's edition, *The Defence of Poesie*, of the same date. Olney's edition, printed by James Roberts, is regular in lineation throughout; Ponsonby's, printed by Thomas Creede, has the variations already noted. Textual evidence indicates that the two versions were printed from different manuscripts. Might not these linear variations in Creede's printing of the *Defence* be taken as evidence of a hurried job, hurried in order to replace the Olney edition on the bookstalls? The irregularity might thus serve as some slight corroboration of the conclusion reached by Pollard and Jackson.

the investigation we have a certain number of books (a number which I am confident can be greatly enlarged) all of which exhibit an irregularity in the number of lines to the page; this irregularity occurs in pages of the inner forme in the vast preponderance of cases, and seldom in both formes of any one gathering. Furthermore in several of the books it can be demonstrated that the two formes of any one gathering cannot have been imposed concurrently. Various explanations of these basic facts might be advanced, but I believe that the simplest and most satisfactory is the hypothesis of the alternate setting and casting-off of copy. If this hypothesis is borne out by subsequent investigation, we shall have to revise some of our bibliographical rules of thumb; for example, no longer will the appearance of the same ornament in both formes of the same sheet be the nearly-infallible sign of a reprint. We shall also have a new means of tracing the progress of certain books through the press.

Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher*

By C. William Miller

HENRY Herringman was a successful seventeenth-century London bookseller who devoted the last twenty years of his career solely to the publishing business. In the words of Edward Arber: "This bookseller seems to have been the first London Wholesale Publisher, in the modern sense of those words."[1] Herringman adopted the sign of the "Blue Anchor" in about the year 1653 and continued to sell books under that sign at his shop in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange for almost fifty years. He was interested primarily in the publication and the sale of *belles-lettres*, particularly plays; and during the twenty-year span from 1665 to 1685 no competitor could match the array of English literature which he offered the reading public. Among his publications are the fourth folio of Shakespeare, the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Davenant, Dryden, Etherege, Wycherley, Killigrew, Robert and Edward Howard, Orrery, Sedley, and Shadwell; the poetry of Cowley, Donne, Crashaw, Butler, Carew, King, Suckling, Waller, and Denham; and the essays of Bacon, Cowley, and Robert Boyle.

Despite the impressiveness of that trade list, bibliographers have heretofore paid only meager attention to Herringman. H. R. Plomer[2] has done some valuable spade-work on his life and

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Philadelphia, June 5, 1948.

[1] *The Term Catalogues* (London, Privately printed, 1905), II: 642.

[2] *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from 1641–1667* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1907), pp. 96-97.

career; Dr. Giles Dawson,[3] in tracing the copyright history of Shakespeare's plays, has discussed Herringman's rôle in publishing the fourth folio, and Mr. James M. Osborn[4] has investigated in detail one significant aspect of the Herringman-Dryden relationship.

A bookseller-publisher of Herringman's stature warrants, I believe, a full-length bibliographical study, comparable to those accorded his great early contemporary, Humphrey Moseley, and his even better-known late contemporary, Jacob Tonson. That general study I am now in the process of making. In this paper, however, I shall confine myself to sketching in the high points of Herringman's developing career as a bookseller-publisher, after summarizing briefly the few known facts of the man's personal life.

Herringman was born in 1628,[5] the son of John Herringman, yeoman, living in Carshalton, Surrey. Henry came to London late in the summer of 1644 to begin his apprenticeship[6] under the tutelage of his Surrey kinsman, Abel Roper, an educated and astute bookseller trading under the signs of the Black Spread Eagle and the Sun in Fleet Street. In August of 1652, Herringman, having successfully completed his apprenticeship, took up his freedom in the Stationers' Company, and within four years[7] was vested in the livery of that company.

[3] *The Copyright of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works,* in: *Studies in Honor of A.H.R. Fairchild* (Columbia, Missouri, The University of Missouri, 1946 [*Studies,* XXI, No. 1, pp. 20-25]).

[4] *John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 168-183.

[5] This birth date is inferred from the statement, "ob: 15 Jan: 1703[/04] Aet. 76." quoted from a memorial plaque in the All Saints Church, Carshalton, by J. J. Howard in a note appended to a rubbing of Herringman's coat of arms. British Museum Additional MS. 39803.

[6] *Apprentices' Register Book,* Stationers' Hall, August 1, 1644.

[7] Herringman is first accorded the title of "Master" by the Stationers' clerk on March 11, 1656/1657. See G. E. B. Eyre, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708* (London, 1913-1914), I: 119. Hereafter this work will be cited with the short title, Eyre's *Transcript.*

Opportunities for determining Herringman's qualities of character are few indeed. So far I have uncovered not one extant letter. Nor did Herringman delight in taking his customers into his confidence about the books he was publishing as his friend Moseley did frequently in the stationer's addresses to the readers. The chance glimpses we get are almost always through the eyes of Samuel Pepys, who referred to Herringman as "my 'seller in the Exchange." From the diarist's remarks and from one of the few stationer's addresses which are straightforward enough to appear to be from the bookseller's pen, we may infer that Herringman enjoyed associating with the popular writers of the day and took pleasure in passing on interesting bits of information about them to his customers. On one occasion Pepys, fresh from a conversation with Herringman, concludes an entry with the comment: "Cowly, he tells me, is dead; who it seems was a mighty civil, serious man; which I did not know before."[8] Some months later Pepys dropped in at Herringman's shop after attending a performance of Dryden's *An Evening's Love.* Pepys thought the stage-piece a bad one and therefore was pleased to have Herringman assure him that "Dryden do himself call it a fifth-rate play."[9] In 1673 Herringman prefaced the first collected edition of Davenant's works with the statement: "The author . . . was my worthy friend. . . . In his lifetime he often expressed to me his great desire to see [his writings] in one volume, which (in honor to his memory) with a great deal of care and pain, I have now accomplished."[10]

In an age when disputes among the members of the Stationers' Company were numerous, and the stationers, from the wardens on down, were bitterly attacked for their rascality—at least by Roger L'Estrange and the government agents—the evidence,

[8] Henry B. Wheatley, *ed. The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London, George Bell and Sons, 1897), VII: 63.

[9] *Ibid.*, VIII: 55.

[10] Sir William Davenant, *The Works* (London, By T. N. for H. Herringman, 1673), "Reader" p. 2.

both positive and negative, indicates that Herringman was an honest and responsible man. Abel Roper, Herringman's old master, appointed Herringman as one of the two executors of his will,[11] with the hope presumably that he would act as friend and adviser to Roper's heir and nephew, Abel Roper II, who eventually became a bookseller too. The well-known and very active printer, Thomas Newcomb, Sr., likewise appointed his "beloved friend Henry Herringman" one of his two executors.[12] That Herringman also befriended Newcomb's son and heir, Thomas Newcomb, Jr., is attested to by the number of Herringman-published volumes issuing from his presses. In fact, on the evidence of decorative ornaments, it can be demonstrated that Herringman had employed the younger Newcomb to print Shakespeare's fourth folio at his shop in the Savoy.

By 1682 Herringman was a wealthy man. He had acquired a coat of arms and had purchased a home in St. Martins-in-the-Fields, the large parish which included the greater portion of the Strand. By that time also Herringman had been married some thirty years[13] and was the father of one child, a daughter Elizabeth, who died five years later at the age of nineteen in giving birth to a son, James Herringman Byne,[14] eventually to be designated as Herringman's principal heir.

On January 14, 1703/1704, Herringman, now retired to his family home in Surrey, a "sick and weak" old man of seventy-six, was drawing up his will.[15] In it he bequeathed £20 to the Stationers' Company to purchase plate in his memory, left £10 "for placing out of two boys as apprentices of the poor children of the

[11] See Prerogative Court of Canterbury MSS, Somerset House, 40 Bath., 1680.

[12] See the Will of Thomas Newcomb, Sr., P.C.C. MSS, 7 Cottle, 1681/1682.

[13] J. J. Howard records the marriage date of Henry and Alice Herringman as September 29, 1650. Alice died on February 28, 1703/1704, some six weeks after her husband. See British Museum Additional MS. 39803.

[14] William Bray, *ed.*, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* by Owen Manning (London, John White and Co., 1809), II: 513.

[15] P.C.C. MSS, 40 Ash., 1703/1704.

parish of St. Martins-in-the-Fields," and appointed as one of his executors, Thomas Bennet, stationer and business associate of Jacob Tonson in several publishing ventures. Herringman died the following day, January 15. His body rests near a wall tablet bearing his arms in the Carshalton Church,[16] and not under "a handsome monument in Chiselhurst, Kent,"[17] as Lord Braybrook, the first editor of Pepys' Diary, would have us believe.

Having reviewed the facts of Herringman's life, let us turn now to a consideration of his career as a bookseller-publisher. The forty-seven years of his business activity may be divided into three fairly well defined periods. The first is the fourteen-year interval, 1653-1666, in which Herringman was developing his trade and learning the publisher's business. The second is the twelve-year period, 1667-1678, in which Herringman flourished as a bookseller and gained the first position as the publisher of contemporary plays and verse. The third is the twenty-one year span, 1679-1699, in which Herringman devoted his energies primarily to wholesale publication.

Herringman completed his apprenticeship on August 1, 1652. At some time within the next six months he purchased the stock of the stationer John Holden, who had died the previous spring,[18] and reopened the bookseller's shop at the Blue Anchor in the New Exchange, which Holden had occupied since 1650. That Herringman bought Holden's stock and copyrights is evident from certain items contained in Herringman's advertisement lists, particularly that of 1661,[19] and from several copies once owned by Holden which Herringman republished in his own name years later. So far I have found eleven books bearing Holden's name in the imprint. Of those eleven, Herringman listed eight for sale

[16] William Bray, *ed., loc. cit.*

[17] H. B. Wheatley, *ed., op. cit.*, VII: 62 ftn.

[18] John Holden's will was drawn up on April 10, 1652, and entered for probate May 3, 1652. See P.C.C. MSS, 121 Bowyer, 1652.

[19] Printed on the final leaf of William Howell's *An Institution of General History* (London, For Henry Herringman, 1661).

in his first advertisement. The ninth, a romance, was published jointly by Holden and by Moseley, who later purchased Holden's moiety—and probably any unsold copies—from Susanna Holden, the deceased bookseller's sister and heir.[20] The tenth, Thomas Hobbes' *Human Nature,* and the eleventh, a collection of memorial verses entitled *Lachrymae Musarum,* both published in 1650, the first year of Holden's bookselling career, had apparently been disposed of before Herringman took over.

Undoubtedly Herringman found in his second-hand stock a goodly number of books published by other stationers and merely offered for sale by Holden. But among those books for which Herringman now possessed the copyrights, there were a few worth owning. Probably the most valuable was Davenant's *Gondibert.* In addition he found La Chambre's *The Characters of the Passions* and Cowley's play, *The Guardian,* the earlier version of *Cutter of Coleman Street.* All three of these copies Herringman republished, in some form, later in his career.

The first book bearing a Herringman imprint and the only Herringman publication dated 1653 which I have found is an English translation of Horace's poems printed in small octavo. Herringman's earliest entry in the *Stationers' Register,*[21] Sir Kenelm Digby's translation of Albertus Magnus' *A Treatise of Adhering to God,* is dated September 19, 1653. Thomason dated the copy in his collection, December 9, 1653; the book, however, carries a 1654 imprint.

An analysis of the seventy copies which Herringman entered in the *Stationers' Register* during this first period reveals that he was publishing almost anything which he thought the better-educated Londoners frequenting the Strand would buy. His trade list included political pamphlets, sermons, plays, verse, romances, histories, philosophical discourses, and even a treatise on chess.

[20] Eyre's *Transcript,* I: 388 and 402. The Stationers' clerk erred in referring to John Holden as the "late husband" of Susanna Holden. She is referred to twice as Holden's sister in his will.

[21] Eyre's *Transcript,* I: 430.

Two of his most prolific and best-selling authors were Robert Boyle with his scientific and theological essays, and the eclectic Walter Charleton, physician to Charles II, who turned out with equal facility a history of human nutrition, a translation of Epicurus' *Morals*, a romance, and a treatise on Stonehenge.

Only very gradually did Herringman begin to accumulate the copyrights of plays and verse collections which were later to make him both wealthy and notable. In the early years of his career, of course, civil unrest, political change, and the ban on the theatres were hardly conducive to the writing of the *genres* of literature in which Herringman and his customers were soon to become immensely interested. But as soon as the dramatists and poets resumed their writing, Herringman, shrewdly gauging his market, began to publish their works. He brought out both Davenant's *Declamations* and his *The Siege of Rhodes*, the two stage-pieces whose presentations mark the reopening of the London theatre. He also published the first successful plays of Orrery, Robert Howard, Etherege, and Dryden, and speedily acquired from other publishers the copyrights to Butler's *Hudibras* and the poetry of Cowley and Waller.

Perhaps the most fortunate of Herringman's early moves, if Shadwell's statement in *The Medal of John Bayes*[22] can ever be substantiated, was his employing the struggling young poet, John Dryden, as his writer of prefaces, sometime during the years just before and after the Restoration. For to Herringman, the publication of no other author's works proved later so lucrative as those of Dryden. Mr. Osborn, who has made a careful investigation of most of the available evidence, found one preface initialed J. D., but because of the indecisiveness of the data declined to

[22] Ll. 109-111. "He turn'd a Journey-man t'a *Bookseller;
Writ Prefaces to Books for Meat and Drink,
And as he paid, he would both write and think.
* Mr. *Herringman*, who kept him in his House for that purpose. [Original note.]"

state positively that he thought Dryden wrote prefaces for Herringman. My research, so far, has yielded little to augment Mr. Osborn's findings, and that little adds only to the confusion. In a list of eight Herringman *Stationers' Register* entries for which Mr. Osborn could find no matching publications[23] occurs the title *The Shirk or The Adventures of Buscon.* The book, an English translation of Quevedo y Villegas' Spanish tale, was published by Herringman in 1657, and includes a translator's dedication signed J. D. along with a brief preface unsigned but written in the same style as the dedication. My attempts to find convincing corroborative evidence of Dryden's hand in the translation have so far been unsuccessful.

During the years 1667-1678, his second period, Herringman reached the peak of his activity as a bookseller-publisher and quickly rose to preëminence as the English publisher of polite literature. In this twelve-year span he brought out almost half of the nearly five hundred publications undertaken during his career; of these two hundred and seven items, the largest portion is plays and verse.

One of the most significant problems in the study of this period is to attempt to determine the factors, along with Herringman's keen business sense, which contributed to his mounting success. So far, I have settled on four important ones.

First, England was experiencing a comparatively peaceful period in its internal affairs, the theatres were flourishing, and many of the playwrights and poets whose works Herringman was interested in publishing were at the peak of their productivity.

Second, Herringman was relieved of his sharpest competition by the death in 1661 of Humphrey Moseley, the outstanding publisher of *belles-lettres* at mid-century. And further, Herringman was reaping the fruits of his friendship with Moseley and his family. Of the fact that Moseley and Herringman were both

[23] J. M. Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

business and social friends there can be little doubt. Moseley and Holden, Herringman's predecessor at the Anchor, seem to have been close business associates, owning and publishing several romances jointly. The probability is, therefore, that Moseley showed some interest in the young bookseller who took over Holden's shop. Herringman's second entry in the *Stationers' Register,* Roger Boyle's romance, *Parthenissa,* published in 1655, bears identically printed title-pages with variant imprints, one carrying Herringman's name, the other, Moseley's. This book is, however, only the first of a number which the two booksellers published together. Of the handful of stationers to whom Moseley in his will[24] bequeathed money for memorial rings, Herringman was by many years the youngest and the only one of comparative unimportance in 1661. Finally, it was from Moseley's heirs, his wife and daughter, that Herringman purchased in 1665 and 1667[25] some of his most vendible copyrights—the poems of Cowley, Waller, Denham, Crashaw, Donne, and Suckling, and certain plays of Davenant and Jonson.

The third factor contributing to Herringman's success was the destructiveness of the London fire, which greatly crippled or wiped out a large number of his competitors and destroyed along with whole printings of new books the remainder of many earlier printed popular editions. The unprecedented demand for perennial favorites Herringman, especially, seems to have undertaken to answer in the decades that followed. For instance, it is a tradition among rare book dealers that Shakespeare's third folio is so scarce an item because the bulk of the edition was consumed in the fire. Herringman was a prime mover in the publication of the fourth. Further, almost every copy of newly printed editions of Sir William Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales* and Alexander Ross' *Mystagogus Poeticus* are said to have been burned. When editions

[24] John C. Reed reprints the will in an appendix to his study of Moseley in the *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers,* II, Pt. 2 (1928): 141.

[25] Eyre's *Transcript,* II: 341 and 380.

of these two works next appeared, Herringman had a hand in the publication of both.

The fourth factor contributing to Herringman's success was certainly the location of his shop in the New Exchange in the Strand. First, by virtue of that site Herringman escaped the London fire. Second, the Strand after the Restoration became the fashion mart and show place of London's pleasure-loving and prodigal society. Its finest and most frequented drapers' and mercers' shops were those located in the lower and upper walks of the New Exchange. Thus Herringman had passing his door daily the trade which he was most interested in attracting.

In the spring of 1678, the year that marks the beginning of his third period, Herringman started breaking the pattern which he had followed since the outset of his career. On March 14 of that year the publisher who had, during the past twenty-five years, entered all but a small number of his copies in the *Stationers' Register* made what he probably intended to be his final entry of a newly acquired copy. I say, probably, because seven years later in 1685 he did enter one other, the only new copy purchased in the twenty-five year span from 1678 to 1703/1704, the year of his death. The new copy was Waller's *Divine Poems*, which Herringman purchased presumably to fill out his collection of Waller's works. Two years earlier, in 1683, Herringman had made five other entries, but all five were for copies previously entered.

Additional evidence of Herringman's new business policy rests with the fact that after 1678 Dryden and Shadwell, two of his best-selling playwrights, have their works published by stationers other than Herringman. Bibliographers of these two dramatists need, therefore, to explain precisely what they mean when they state that in the year 1678 Dryden left Herringman for Tonson, and Shadwell left Herringman for Knapton and others. The accurate interpretation of the situation appears to be that Herringman decided to publish thereafter no new plays of these two

dramatists, and they, as a result, were obliged to seek out other publishers. Yet, it is not to be supposed that with this change in policy Herringman ceased to be an outstanding publisher of either Dryden or Shadwell. Rather, he concentrated on the publication of those plays for which he already possessed copyrights. From 1678 to 1699, when he finally sold his Dryden holdings to Tonson,[26] Herringman brought out more than forty Dryden publications, and from 1678 to 1703 he published an additional fourteen Shadwell editions.

The practice which Herringman followed in publishing the plays of Dryden and Shadwell is typical of that observed with the works of his other writers. So salable were the copies which he had accumulated prior to 1678 that he devoted his money and energy almost entirely to republishing them as the demand arose. A list of Herringman publications, year by year, for this third period runs with monotonous regularity: Cowley, Denham, Waller, Dryden, Shadwell, and Etherege. Meanwhile he was undertaking the publication of costly collected editions: Beaumont and Fletcher in 1679, Shakespeare in 1685, and Jonson in 1692. In addition he was investing capital in large publishing enterprises initiated by other stationers, and on the side was drawing an income as one of the several assigns[27] of the patent holders of the King's Printing Office.

Although Herringman began changing his business policy in 1678, it was not until early in 1684 that he converted his business finally to that of wholesale publication by turning over his retail

[26] The evidence supporting this conclusion is inferential: (1) The imprints of new editions of Dryden's plays originally published by Herringman consistently bear Herringman's name as publisher through the year 1699. Thereafter, without deviation, Tonson is named as publisher. (2) The lengthy and detailed assignment of copies to Jacob Tonson, Jr., by Herringman's assigns, dated May 22, 1707, lists not one Dryden play, indicating that Herringman had disposed of his Dryden copies at some earlier date.

[27] Herringman, Thomas Seward, and Joseph Leigh shared a one-sixth interest in the patent. See Chancery Proceedings. Six Clerks Series. Mitford (C8) Bundle 298. MS. 169.

trade to the partners, Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders. This partnership existed until 1689 when Knight left Saunders to succeed Gilbert Cownly as proprietor of the shop of the late William Cademan, himself a well-known publisher, trading at the sign of the Pope's Head also in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. The last joint entry of Knight and Saunders in the *Stationers' Register* occurred on January 10, 1688/1689. At the dissolving of their partnership, Knight apparently settled with Saunders for a share of their common book stock. An analysis of the fifty-nine items on a Knight 1690 advertisement list[28] reveals that the newly established bookseller at the Pope's Head was offering for sale only those books published earlier jointly by himself and Saunders or those previously owned and published by Herringman. At the Blue Anchor, therefore, after 1689, Saunders was, as Dryden referred to him in a letter, Herringman's "man" until his death in the summer of 1699.[29]

Some aspects of the working agreement entered into by the wholesaler Herringman and the retailers Knight and Saunders can be reconstructed from stray bits of evidence. The titles on the 1690 Knight advertisement list, representing Knight's share of the common stock previously owned by Knight and Saunders, indicates that the partners had purchased in 1684 not only the right to conduct a retail business under the well-known sign of the Blue Anchor but also the whole of Herringman's retail stock. Had it been otherwise, Knight would hardly have been expected to include among the books which he offered for sale in

[28] See 2E2 of the Earl of Orrery's 1690 folio edition of *Henry the Fifth and Mustapha*, perhaps the first published volume to carry Knight's name in the title-page imprint without that of Saunders. The wording of the imprint indicates the recentness of Knight's move: ". . . sold by *Joseph Knight*, formerly at the Blue-Anchor . . . , now removed to the Pope's Head. . . ."

[29] The last advertisement in the *Term Catalogues* bearing Saunders' name occurred in June, 1699. (See Edward Arber, *op. cit.*, III: 149.) On September 20, 1699, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury issued a commission to Grace Smith, widow, the sister of Francis Saunders, to administer the goods of her deceased brother, a bachelor, who had died intestate at Tonbridge in Kent, although a member of the parish of St. Martins-in-the-Fields. See *P.C.C. Administration Act Book*, folio 157.

1690 at his new premises the obviously slow-selling items published by Herringman in the late 1650's, or copies of the apparently unsalable 1650 edition of Christopher Elderfield's *The Civil Rights of Tythes*, the remainder of which Herringman had been burdened with in taking over Holden's stock at the outset of his career. Further, it is clear from entries in the *Stationers' Register* that Knight and Saunders had reserved for themselves the privilege of publishing and offering for sale any new copies which they were able to purchase.

On the other hand, the partners rendered Herringman assistance in two ways. First, they served him as a prime retail outlet for his publications, at least during the early years of his wholesale career. Once Herringman had developed his business and Knight had left the Blue Anchor, however, Saunders became just one of several important retailers whose names are often grouped in title-page imprints in this fashion: "Printed for H. Herringman, and are to be sold by R. Bentley, J. Tonson, F. Saunders, and T. Bennet." Second, the partners served Herringman as the distributors for his wholesale publications. Evidence for this generalization occurs in a notice printed in the *Term Catalogue* for Hillary, 1688.

> There is now Printed by Henry Herringman a new Edition of the works of Mr. Abraham Cowley, in folio. . . . Booksellers may have them at six shillings in Quires of J. Knight and F. Saunders. . . .[30]

After Saunders' death in 1699, Herringman abandoned his place of business—it was occupied in 1700 by Bennet Banbury[31]—and, I believe, retired to Carshalton. Of the dozen Herringman publications in the early years of the eighteenth century, a third appeared in 1700 and were probably arranged for by Herringman before he wound up his affairs in London. The rest fall with-

[30] Edward Arber, *ed.*, *op. cit.*, II: 221.

[31] See the title-page imprints of Susanna Centlivre's 1700 edition of *The Perjur'd Husband* and the two 1700 editions of George Farquhar's *The Constant Couple*.

in the years 1703-1705, the majority of them presumably undertaken by his assigns for the benefit of themselves or Herringman's widow as he had stipulated in his will.

Now, finally, what plans had Herringman made for the disposition of his valuable set of copies after his death? It seems certain that he had sold to the elder Jacob Tonson his rights to Dryden's plays in 1699 just before retiring, and it is true that on May 20, 1707, Jacob Tonson, Jr., became Herringman's successor in that he purchased from Herringman's heirs all of his remaining copies,[32] but was it Herringman's wish that the Jacob Tonsons, uncle and nephew, should enjoy so advantageous a position in the publishing world of the early eighteenth century? The answer is certainly no.

If I understand Herringman's attitude and interpret certain stipulations of his will correctly, Herringman had, in the course of his rise to prominence and wealth, developed the desire to have his name perpetuated both in the direct line of his heirs and in the eighteenth-century London publishing world. In order to accomplish the first, he chose, naturally enough, to make his grandson, James Herringman Byne, his principal heir. The grandson was instructed, however, to give his eldest son and heir the Christian name of Herringman; if he refused or neglected to do so, he was to forfeit the not inconsiderable sum of £500. In order to accomplish the second, Herringman bequeathed all his copies to his kinsman John Herringman, but only on the condition that he complete "justly and truly" his seven years' apprenticeship in the Stationers' Company.

By 1707 circumstances had set most of Herringman's well-laid plans awry. His grandson had died in 1704/1705 without issue,[33] and in accordance with the will his kinsman John fell heir not only

[32] The manuscript embodying the assignment of Herringman's copies by his assigns to Jacob Tonson, Jr., is privately owned. I have had access to a photostatic copy through the courtesy of The Folger Shakespeare Library.

[33] William Bray, *ed., loc. cit.*

to Herringman's copies but to all the rest of his fortune. Forthwith John sold the copies, abandoned the trade of stationer, and returned to the less venturesome life of Surrey, where in 1710 we find him assuming the duties of warden in the Carshalton Church.[34]

[34] Hilda Fosbury, *Notes from a Carshalton Vestry Book,* in: *Surrey Archaeological Society Collections,* XXVI: 112.

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Bibliographical Notes

A Note on Variants in the Dedication of Chettle's "Tragedy of Hoffman"

Interesting aspects of the typography and history of a seventeenth-century quarto are brought to light by a study of the 1631 quarto of Henry Chettle's *Tragedy of Hoffman* (1602).

Ten copies of the quarto have been examined either in the original or in microfilm or photostat copies. This note outlines the evidence and reasoning which have led to the conclusion that we have here an unusual example of several copies of *one single issue* containing a number of variants in a short Dedication that necessitated, at times, change of type setting. The variants are the result of deliberate alterations, and another interesting problem arises in the attempt to find the reason for such exceptional procedure.

The Dedication is signed by Hugh Perry, the publisher, who apparently ignores the identity of the author of *Hoffman,* and is addressed to "His Mvch Honored Friend, Master Richard Kiluert." Hugh Perry was among the minor publishers and booksellers of his day, having only seventeen books listed under his name in the *Stationers' Register.* Richard Kilvert is a more colorful and certainly a notorious figure of his period,[1] although previous editors of *Hoffman* have entirely neglected to identify him. Kilvert, lawyer at the prerogative court at Canterbury, rose to the position of proctor at the Star Chamber.[2] From entries in the *Lords'* and *Commons' Journals* and in the *Calendar of State Papers,* we learn that Kilvert was several times employed as an informer and that he was implicated in shady deals in connection with the promotion of the wine monopoly. Two pamphlets, curiously enough printed by the same house that printed the *Hoff-*

[1] W. A. Shaw, *Richard Kilvert* in: *Dictionary of National Biography,* XI.

[2] *Ibid.;* see also John Southerden Burn, *The Star-Chamber* (London, J. R. Smith, 1870).

man quarto with its laudatory dedication, revile and ridicule Kilvert in no uncertain terms.[3]

The study of ten quarto copies has resulted in the discovery of four distinct versions of the Dedication. An examination of the text and the title-page already suggests that there was but *one* issue of the 1631 quarto.[4] An examination of the Dedication, in spite of the variants, confirms that impression. The Dedication runs from nineteen to twenty-one lines in the various versions. Up to line nine, we have the most rigid and complete correspondence, including the ornamental block, with the exception of one comma variant in line 1 whose nature I have been unable to determine. The general set-up of the Dedication, too, remains unaltered in principle; the last two lines are everywhere in identical position. The fount that was used is certainly the same throughout all the Dedication copies that have been examined. The paper is in all likelihood also the same, since chain lines and watermarks correspond, although there may be occasional shifts of position of the watermarks depending on the cut of the sheet used. It almost seems, consequently, as if a corrector at the press had interrupted the printing process every now and then and had new rows of type inserted into the completed galley or case. All the indications are that no new issue, *i.e.* change of preliminary matter for a second or third printing of the quarto, was intended, for in such a case different paper would probably have been used and the changes made would have been more numerous and not quite as immaterial.

Before examining the reasons why any printer, compositor, or publisher should have wanted to break up type for the purpose of making minor changes, the following transcript of the Dedication as found in the New York Public, Harvard, and Newberry Library copies will be given with a subsequent recording of the variants found in some of the other copies.

[3] *Dialogue or Accidental discourse Betwixt Mr. Alderman Abell, and Richard Kilvert.* (Pamphlet.) New Haven, Conn., Yale University Library (Wing's Continuation of *STC*, No. 72). *The Last Discourse Betwixt Master Abell and Master Richard Kilvert. Ibid.* (Wing's *STC*, No. 73).

[4] This conclusion is based on examination of quality of paper, correspondence of watermarks, nature of misprints in variants, etc. The text of the play begins on sig.B; both the title-page (A1) and the Dedication (A2) have blank versos.

ORNAMENTAL BLOCK

T O H I S M V C H

Honored Friend, Master

Richard Kiluert.

Sir

I Know you, and in that your worth, which I honour more, then greatnesse in a Patron: this Tragedy hapning into my hands, I haue now aduentured it vnto the Presse, and wanting both a Parent to owne it, and a Patron to protect it,am fayne to Act the Fathers part, and haue aduentured to addresse it vnto your Worthy selfe; vnder whose wings it flyes for harbour:it hath passed the Stage already with good applause, and I doubt not, but from you it shall receiue a kinde welcome,who haue alwaies bin a true Fauourer of Artes and Learning; and for my selfe I haue receiued so many noble curtesies, that I shall alwayes rest

Yours to command

H V G H P E R R Y.

Thus the reading in three of the copies. Two copies in the Folger Library, and the quartos in the Huntington, British Museum, and Pforzheimer libraries show the following variants:

whose wings it flyes for a new birth: it hath passed the Stage already with good applause, and I doubt not, but from you it shall receiue a kinde welcome,
who haue alwaies bin a true Fauourer of Artes and Learning;and from your selfe I haue receiued so many noble curtesies, that I shall alwayes rest

The last two lines remain identical. These alterations would then require but minor changes in the typesetting of the galley page itself, yet they would certainly render it necessary for the printer to knock out various words from the chase and to realign others.

The Columbia quarto shows the following variants:

whose wings it flyes for protection: it hath passed
the Stage already with good applause,and I doubt
not, but from you it shall receiue a kind of new birth
who hath alwaies bin a true Friend to Artes and
Learning;and from your selfe I haue receiued so
many noble curtesies,that I am alwaies bonnd to rest

Again, the changes necessitate breaking up and recasting of type.

A third copy in the Folger Library, finally, reads:

fayne to Act the Fathers part,and pray you to be
a God-father: and therefore haue aduentured to
addresse it vnto your Worthy selfe;vnder whose
wings it flyes for harbour and protection:it hath
passed the Stage already with good applause,and I
doubt not, but from you it shall receiue a kind of new
birth, who hath alwaies bin a true Maecinas of learning, and friend to the Muses: and from your selfe
I haue receiued so many noble curtesies,that I am
alwaies bound to rest.

This variant reading gives us an addition of one-and-a-half lines of type. The lines of the signature remain in the same alignment, but they would naturally be somewhat lower in relation to the corresponding lines on pages in the other copies.

The answer to our query why such puzzling and minor changes were made might have come from a study of other Perry dedications. All the books, published by Perry, that I was able to examine, however, fail to show any prefatory matter whatsoever signed by Perry. There is a dedication signed by the author in a book by Robert Couert, *A true and almost incredible report of an Englishman that travelled by land throw many kingdomes* (*STC* 5895), which Perry published also in 1631. The dedication begins in the following terms,

> As the most Noble Maecinas of all good Arts,
> & the most worthy Patron of all such as can
> any way merit of their Country . . .

Undoubtedly there was a convention in the wording and style of dedicatory epistles at the time that diminishes the value of any parallels, but it is just possible that Perry, believing himself untrained in the arts of formal writing (*viz.* there are no dedications in any of the other books he published that were examined), went shopping around for some aid from authors of books for which he had secured publishing rights. If that were the case, it also might shed some light on the curious character of the Dedication variants.

We have already seen that Richard Kilvert held great notoriety and that he played a part in many an affair of "pulling strings" and bribery. Furthermore, Kilvert was proctor at the Star Chamber, the body that frequently passed legal rulings on stationers, publishers, and booksellers. As a matter of fact, John Norton, printer of the *Hoffman* quarto, had faced that tribunal in 1630 in company of several others on a bribery charge,[5] and again in 1635 had had a penalty revoked by the Star Chamber invoked against him earlier on an unspecified charge.[6]

Could it have been, then, that Perry, an untutored seventeenth-century bookseller, was also under some obscure obligation (to which he seems to refer in his Dedication), to Richard Kilvert, and consequently faced with the necessity of composing a formal epistle that he would otherwise not have readily attempted? He would then have proceeded, painfully racking his brains, to formulate his address, glancing at numerous model examples as he went along, rejecting or accepting and frequently striking out versions that did not appeal to him, in his anxiety to say the right word to an influential patron. The end result would have been a hodge-podge of alternate phrases, unintelligible to the compositor, and, perhaps, to Perry himself for that matter.

Thus Perry might have thought of, or copied from somewhere, the phrase of the book "flying for a new birth"; then, coming across a new wording which he seemed to like better, have changed it to "flying for harbour"; and finally have added "polish" with "harbour and protection." Was it the compositor who, in despair at the unintelligible manuscript, halted the presses to make the changes that crept into some copies, or was it Perry himself who, supervising the task, rushed to the print-shop to make hurried efforts for final improvement? I think we must leave the last question unanswered, and satisfy ourselves with the above hypothesis

[5] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I,* IV: 285.

[6] *Ibid.* (Book of Entries of Petitions), IX: 468.

for what appears to be a rather fascinating and curious oddity of seventeenth-century bibliography.

ERNST J. SCHLOCHAUER

Issues of the First Edition of "The Vicar of Wakefield"

The interest that some collectors have in determining the priority of copies within one edition occasionally directs the steps of bibliographers and booksellers into the way of error. The first edition of *The Vicar of Wakefield* is a case in point. Sales catalogues have been recognizing issues of this edition at least as far back as 1912. In that year both the Hoe and Allis copies were described as first issues of the first edition, and the practice of distinguishing the priority of copies has continued to the present. In 1924 Mr. Iolo A. Williams discussed at some length the bibliographical problems of that book in his charming and valuable *Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies* (London, Dulau & Company). He examined a number of copies with considerable care and identified twenty errors and misprints in the catchwords, running titles, signatures, and pagination. In some copies one or two or three of these errors were corrected. Since different errors were corrected in different copies, Mr. Williams formalized the combinations that he had seen into four "Variants," which he named A, B, C, and D; Variant A includes all twenty errors. This part of his work seems interesting and useful. In the Foreword he properly defined an "issue" of a first edition as "a portion of the first edition, all printed and issued together, having common typographical peculiarities differentiating them from the remaining copies of their edition." Bearing in mind his identification of the Variants and his definition of an issue, we must take his bibliographical conclusion on *The Vicar of Wakefield* to mean that the Variants were separate issues: "I should be inclined to say that Variant A represents the true 'first issue' of this book. There are probably other Variants that I have not noted."

Although this conclusion was stated with characteristic diffidence and reserve, Mr. Williams's suggestion has been taken up by later writers with a confidence that has probably surprised him. In Temple Scott's *Oliver Goldsmith Bibliographically and Biographically Considered* (New York, The Bowling Green Press, 1928), for instance, we find a repetition of Mr. Williams's bibliographical description of *The Vicar of Wakefield* (with several annoying mistakes in description introduced, however). Scott's conclusion to the matter is as follows: "Which of the four variants must be

credited with being the first issue is a question which cannot with certainty be answered." The evident implication here is that there is no question but that the four Variants do constitute separate issues. The formidable effect of Mr. Williams's work and of his suggestion that Variant A is the real first issue is more forcefully demonstrated in sales catalogues. When the Panter-Quaritch copy was sold in 1944 (for $2100) it was described as including "all 1st state points as noted by I. A. Williams [*i.e.*, for his Variant A] except one and with 3 additional misprints." The Appleton copy, "with all points noted by Williams [for Variant A] except 1 and with 2 other misprints," brought $2200 in 1945. In the same year, the Hoe-Kern copy, which "agrees with Williams' Variant A with 2 exceptions" and which contains a Goldsmith inscription (the authenticity of which was categorically denied as long ago as 1926 by such an eminent Goldsmith specialist as Katharine C. Balderston) brought $2700. Although I cite only more recent instances, similar examples could be multiplied. This kind of straining after supposed renown is ridiculous. If a copy lacks any one of the twenty errors noted by Williams, it is no longer his Variant A (for whatever that may be worth) but is either one of the other three variants or an unrecorded variant. The attempt to associate copies with Variant A, even with exceptions, because that Variant is supposed to represent the earliest issue has been very profitable financially. Those who have offered copies as Variant B, C, or D and those who have advertised copies as containing eighteen or nineteen of the twenty errors have generally realized not more than about a half as much as those who have offered their copies as mutations of the celebrated Variant A.

The first edition of *The Vicar of Wakefield* in the Princeton University Library brings the problem into focus. It was the Allis copy, sold as lot 334 of the Allis sale in March 1912. (In the sale catalogue, incidentally, it is incorrectly described as having the spelling "Waekefield" in the running title of page 95 of the second volume, whereas actually the book has "Waekcfield," the normal error for that page.) This copy does not fall in any of the four recognized variants. It exactly follows Mr. Williams's description of the British Museum copy (Variant A) except that the catchword on page 39 of the second volume is correctly printed. Should we call the Princeton copy an example of Variant A with one exception, or a previously unrecorded variant to be dignified with the title Variant E, or simply a copy of the first edition? Finally, what can we properly say of the priority of issue of this copy?

Let us look for a moment at the points differentiating the four recog-

nized variants. These points are but three. First, whether the catchword is present or missing on page 213 of the first volume. Second, whether the catchword on page 39 of the second volume is correctly printed as "him" or incorrectly printed as "was." Third, whether the page number on page 159 of the second volume is correctly printed or incorrectly printed as 165. Of the twenty errors identified by Mr. Williams, these are the only three that he knew to exist in uncorrected and corrected states. With just these three errors, it is mathematically possible to have eight variants, of which five (including the Princeton copy) have now been identified. I suspect that the other three possibilities are or have been in existence. Furthermore, some of the other seventeen errors may have been corrected in copies that have not been examined. There may be additional errors in other copies on points that have been corrected in all copies already examined. One such example is the pagination on page 193 of volume one. In all copies that I know, the numerals are correctly printed; but the copy included as lot 127 in the American Art Association sale of the William A. Read Library on January 8-9, 1936, was reported as having the 3 reversed. Finally, the misprints (which were not noted by Mr. Williams) of "securiry" for "security" (I: 152) and "cherafulness" for "cheerfulness" (II: 171) occur in all copies that I know about, but they (as well as other unnoticed errors) may have been corrected in some copies. It seems altogether probable that if a large number of copies—say fifty or more—were carefully collated on Mr. Williams's plan, with other similar errors taken into account, a considerable number of variants could be developed. Such a project would, I think, be eminently useless. The result would be an accumulation of information of seeming value that told nothing of bibliographical importance about the book or its publication or about the priority of copies. If a similar job were attempted on all extant copies of the first edition of *Paradise Lost* (of which there are perhaps two hundred), I dare say that almost every copy would be a new variant in some small particular or other and that the last copy examined would end up around Variant Zzzzzzzz.

There is, of course, no reason to suppose that the copies of any one of the recognized (or unrecognized) variants of *The Vicar of Wakefield* were printed and issued together. On the contrary, there is every reason to be certain that there was only one issue of the first edition and that the existence of these three variable points (and of others postulated) was occasioned by corrections made in the press while sheets were being run off. Part of Mr. Williams's own conclusion on the first edition of Goldsmith's *The Good Natur'd Man* may serve as a summary of the situation that exists

in a less complicated state with *The Vicar of Wakefield:* "This is a book that varies considerably from copy to copy, and all the variations are due, probably, to alterations having been made while the play was going through the press, and to the half-sheets in their different states having been bound together, haphazard, in every sort of combination. . . . Probably the man who bought the first twelve copies on the day of publication would not, had he collated them, have found them all alike."

To establish issues on the basis of such points as have governed descriptions of copies of this book in the past is inaccurate; to establish variants on those points is idle and uninformative. Setting aside imperfect copies, I should say that all the extant copies of the first edition of *The Vicar of Wakefield* are of approximately equal bibliographical interest and importance, that the priority of no copy or group of copies can be demonstrated, and that the value of individual copies should depend on their condition. I do not look for any great reforms among collectors and booksellers, however. Doubtless some copies will continue to be proudly described as "first issue" or "Williams's Variant A" or "Variant A with 2 exceptions" and command premium prices, while other copies will be rather apologetically offered as "Variant B" or "containing 18 of Williams's 20 errors." The conclusions that there was only one issue of the first edition of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, that the existence of these variants is relatively insignificant, and that priority of issue cannot be established on the basis of the variants may all seem pretty trivial matters. But the conclusion to almost every bibliographical problem has a moral. Here it is a warning against confusing variants with issues and against attaching bibliographical importance to trivial typographical variations caused by haphazard press correction in the course of a single printing.

JAMES THORPE

The Box Rule Pattern in the First Edition of "Paradise Lost"

The recent important edition of Milton's poetry by H. F. Fletcher* omits mention of the box rule pattern in the quarto first edition of *Paradise Lost*, although knowledge of the pattern is entirely necessary to a bibliographical understanding of the book.

* Milton, John, *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works, Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile, A Critical Text Edition Compiled and Edited by Harris Francis Fletcher*. Urbana, The University of Illinois Press, 1943—.

The text of the four pages of each forme is enclosed by a set of box rules, each set consisting of four boxes, one for each page. Four different sets were used in printing the book, excluding the rules on the various title pages, the later-added preliminary matter, and the reprintings of signatures Z and Vv. Although they underwent certain alterations as the printing progressed, the four sets of box rules are always distinguishable one from another by certain peculiarities. They always appear intact, the four boxes that compose each of them invariably remaining in the same relative positions.

When two consecutive appearances of a set are on outer formes, the four boxes appear on the same pages in the gatherings (*e.g.*, if the four boxes of a set are found on 1^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, and 4^{v}, and if the next appearance of the set is also on an outer forme, again the four boxes will be found on 1^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, and 4^{v}, respectively).[1]

When two consecutive appearances of a set are on inner formes, the four boxes will likewise be found, respectively, on the same pages in the gatherings.

When of two consecutive appearances of a set the first is on an outer forme and the second on an inner forme, the set is normally turned around in its second appearance (*e.g.*, if the four boxes of a set are found on 1^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, and 4^{v}, and if the next appearance of the set is on an inner forme, the boxes will be found on 2^{r}, 1^{v}, 4^{r}, and 3^{v}, respectively).

And when of two consecutive appearances of a set the first is on an inner forme and the second on an outer forme, the set is likewise turned around at its second appearance (*e.g.*, if the boxes occur on 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 3^{v}, and 4^{r}, and if the next appearance of the set is on an outer forme, the boxes will be found on 2^{v}, 1^{r}, 4^{v}, and 3^{r}, respectively).[2]

It is to be emphasized that the four sets everywhere occur intact and that the four boxes which compose each always remain in the same positions, relative to each other.

The box rule sets may be arbitrarily designated 1, 2, 3, and 4. They occur as follows:

[1] There is one exception. On Bb^{r}, $Bb2^{v}$, $Bb3^{r}$, and $Bb4^{v}$ the four boxes occur which had previously occurred on $Z3^{r}$, $Z4^{v}$, Z^{r}, and $Z2^{v}$, respectively. Here, obviously, the set was merely turned around, the boxes remaining in the same relative positions.

[2] There are two exceptions. On Qq^{v}, $Qq2^{r}$, $Qq3^{v}$, and $Qq4^{r}$ the boxes occur which had previously occurred on $Oo4^{v}$, $Oo3^{r}$, $Oo2^{v}$, and Oo^{r}, respectively. And on K^{v}, $K2^{r}$, $K3^{v}$, and $K4^{r}$, the boxes occur which had previously occurred on $H4^{v}$, $H3^{r}$, $H2^{v}$, and H^{r}, respectively. Obviously, at these two junctures the sets were merely not reversed, as they usually were in this circumstance.

Signature	*Inner forme*	*Outer forme*
A	1	2
B	1	2
C	2	3
D	1	2
E	1	3
F	2	3
G	1	2
H	3	1
I	3	2
K	1	2
L	3	1
M	2	1
N	3	2
O	1	3
P	3	2
Q	1	1
R	3	2
S	1	3
T	2	1
V	4	3
X	1	3
Y	2	4
Z	1	3
Aa	2	4
Bb	1	3
Cc	4	2
Dd	1	3
Ee	2	4
Ff	3	1
Gg	4	2
Hh	3	1
Ii	4	2
Kk	3	1
Ll	4	2
Mm	3	1
Nn	2	4
Oo	3	1
Pp	4	2
Qq	1	3

Signature	*Inner forme*	*Outer forme*
Rr	2	4
Ss	1	3
Tt	4	2
Vv	A half sheet. One half of 3 appears on the inner forme; the other half of 3 appears on the outer forme.	

In view of the foregoing, the underlying pattern in the re-occurrences of certain peculiarities through the book becomes apparent. For example, the break in the inner top rule three-fourths of an inch from the right hand end, noted by Fletcher in some places (II:243, 273) but not in many others, is a characteristic of one of the four boxes of set 3. It first appears on $C3^{r}$. Its subsequent appearances could be listed according to the pattern without consulting the book: $E3^{r}$, $F3^{r}$, $H4^{r}$, $I4^{r}$, $L4^{r}$, $N4^{r}$, $O3^{r}$, $P4^{r}$, $R4^{r}$, $S3^{r}$, $V3^{r}$, $X3^{r}$, $Z3^{r}$, Bb^{r} (the exception pointed out in note 1), Dd^{r}, $Ff2^{r}$, $Hh2^{r}$, $Kk2^{r}$, $Mm2^{r}$, $Oo2^{r}$, Qq^{r}, Ss^{r}, and $Vv2^{r}$.

For a further example, the smashed "B" in "Book", which Fletcher notes each time that it occurs, may be considered. It always appears in the running head of one of the boxes of set 1. It crops up on G^{v}, and, therefore, it appears later on $H2^{v}$, $K3^{v}$ (the exception pointed out in note 2), $L4^{v}$, $M4^{v}$, $O3^{v}$, $Q3^{v}$, $Q4^{v}$, $S3^{v}$, $T4^{v}$, $X3^{v}$, $Z3^{v}$, $Bb3^{v}$, $Dd3^{v}$, $Ff4^{v}$, $Hh4^{v}$, $Kk4^{v}$, $Mm4^{v}$, $Oo4^{v}$, Qq^{v} (the exception pointed out in note 2), and Ss^{v}. According to the pattern, the damaged "B" should have occurred previously on E^{v}, and it does occur there—in some copies, indicating that the letter was damaged during the printing of the inner forme of E (an inference that seems more likely than Fletcher's, II:262).

Why were the box rule sets normally turned around when used consecutively with outer and inner formes, or *vice versa?* The answer probably lies in the mechanics of the imposition procedure. Only two pages in each gathering, the first and third, one on each forme, actually bore signatures (A, A2; B, B2; *etc.*). If the workman who did the imposition placed the signed pages in the same position before him, keeping the first and third pages at the lower left, say, then the box which had enclosed the first page, 1^{r}, would naturally be used next on the third page, 2^{r}, and *vice versa,* and the reversal would be accounted for. This is one possible explanation. The two exceptions (note 2) can be regarded as fortuitous, although they both involve set 1, the set with the broken "B".

The fact that four sets of box rules and running heads were used indicates a multiple press operation, at least at some stages. The quarto is dated 1667. It was printed by Samuel Simmons. His shop boasted two presses as

of July 24, 1668 (Fletcher, II:107). Therefore, the conclusion must be that two presses at times worked simultaneously on the book.[3]

Since four sets of box rules were employed in the printing, it may be assumed that at some points all four of them were simultaneously employed with type. For example, if two presses were in use, two sets would be printing, while the other two were being separated from the formes just printed, or being set up with the formes to be printed next. Therefore, with the compositor working steadily, there were probably at times about six formes or twenty-four pages actually in type.[4]

The inner forme of signature Q contains thirty-five copy variations, according to Fletcher (II: 147), considerably more than any other forme in the quarto. But there is an additional peculiarity that signally distinguishes Q from all other signatures in the quarto: *It is the only one that bears the same set of box rules on both of its formes.*[5] It is reasonable to suppose that these two distinguishing peculiarities are connected in some manner, probably as follows: The inner forme of signature Q began printing (since it was always the first composed, the inner forme would normally be printed before the outer). But the forme was held up so long for press corrections that the printers went ahead with signature R, imposing the two formes of R with the other two sets of box rules.[6] At this point the inner forme of Q was finally finished. But neither of the other two sets of rules was available for use on the outer forme of Q; therefore, the same set had to be employed again. This, or something very like it, must have occurred. At any rate, the box rule peculiarity indicates an alteration of the printing sequence; and, in view of the abnormally large number of copy variations on the inner forme of signature Q, the alteration was most probably the result of the delays caused by press corrections.

The box rule sequence listed above may be divided into three groups, according to the number of different sets that occur. The first group consists of signatures A and B, in which only two sets appear. The second consists of signatures C through T, in which three sets appear. The third consists of signatures V through Vv, in which four sets appear.

It would seem that the press work was accelerated as the printing pro-

[3] Not one, as Fletcher seems to say, II: 116-117, 211.

[4] Or certainly more than the four formes that Fletcher estimates, II: 117.

[5] The later-added preliminary matter, the concluding half-sheet, Vv, and the reprintings of Z and Vv, being special cases, are excepted.

[6] It will be observed that at this stage of the printing only three sets of box rules were in use. The fourth did not make its appearance until the printing had proceeded to signature V.

gressed and the composition got farther and farther ahead, warranting the employment of more and more box rule sets. The work seems to have begun as soon as the inner forme of signature A was in type. And it was not until signature C was reached that enough was in type for both presses to be put to work. The introduction of the fourth set of rules in signature V may possibly mark a switch from simultaneous printing (in which each sheet is printed and perfected simultaneously by the two presses) to the independent method (in which each sheet is printed and perfected independently by each press). The latter method would be the faster and the more economical, but it would require that the composition be farther advanced.

Within each group the sets of rules were used in as equal a number of times as possible. In the first group, signatures A and B, the two sets each occur twice. In the second group, signatures C through T, set 1 occurs twelve times, and sets 2 and 3 occur eleven times each. In the concluding group—eliminating V as "transitional" and Vv, the half-sheet—the four sets occur eleven times each. In this last group sets 1 and 3 and sets 2 and 4 always appear together. Moreover, in the last group the combination 3 (inner forme)—1 (outer forme) occurs five times, 1—3, six times; and 2—4, five times, 4—2, six times. From these facts it seems that the printers employed the box rules according to some kind of system, each set filling a definite place in the printing procedure. A detailed reconstruction of the printing, using the box rule pattern as a basis, may be feasible.

Sometime after the quarto was originally printed a quantity of signatures Z and Vv were reprinted in order to make up a deficiency, since examples of reprinted signatures appear in some copies. Fletcher demonstrates convincingly that the reprintings of the two signatures are connected (II:629). But the box rules prove the point just as definitely, even if no other evidence existed. The same set of rules was used on all formes of the two reprints; *and the set is unique in the volume*, differing from the four sets that have been mentioned heretofore, and differing also from any that appear in either printing of the preliminary material.

One remarkable fact about the appearance of the set of rules on the reprinted signature Z is that only there (excepting the later-added preliminary matter) do the four boxes of a set ever appear in different relative positions. The boxes may be designated A, B, C, and D. They occur on the inner forme: $\frac{C}{D}\ \frac{B}{A}$. But on the outer forme they occur: $\frac{C}{B}\ \frac{D}{A}$. On the inner forme of signature Vv, the reprinted half-sheet, appears: B A. On the outer forme appears: D C. It will be observed that the relative positions

of the boxes on the outer forme of signature Z are different from those on the inner forme of Z, but that the positions on both formes of Vv are the same as those on the outer forme of Z (to see this bring boxes C and D, as they appear on the outer forme of Z, down to the level of boxes B and A and turn them right side up).

The fact that the shuffled version of the set appears on Vv indicates that the outer forme of Z was impressed after the inner forme of Z, as would be normally expected. The evidence of the progressive changes which occurred in the rules as they were used substantiates this conclusion (compare, for example, the break in the middle of the extreme right vertical line on $Z4^r$, Z^r, and $Vv2^r$, and the right extremity of the lower horizontal line on $Z2^r$, $Z3^r$, and Vv^r—apparently broken off after its use on $Z2^r$). Moreover, the progressive changes indicate that Vv was printed after the outer forme of Z (compare, for example, the lines at the lower left corner on $Z3^v$, $Z4^v$, and Vv^v).

Therefore, not only were signatures Z and Vv reprinted on the same occasion, but also the normal printing order was observed: The inner forme of Z was impressed first; the outer forme of Z, second; and Vv, third. Furthermore, on the basis of these facts combined with Fletcher's points, especially that "Book 7." in the proper running head of Z improperly occurs in the running head of the second page of Vv, it can be asserted that *no signatures that occur between Z and Vv were reprinted on the same occasion*, and no signatures reprinted on the same occasion would be found in this section of the volume, even if all copies of the edition were extant.

GUY A. BATTLE

A 1624 Americana Item

An apparently unique quarto pamphlet, *Newes from Rome, Spalato's Doome* . . . (London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for Richard Whitaker, 1624) (preface signed by T. H.), now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, contains this seemingly unnoted allusion to America: "The Sermon was in English and he is ignorant of that language; as much unskild in it as in Irish or the Virginian Mattoakan tongue . . ." (sig. C2r).

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

A West Virginia Broadside

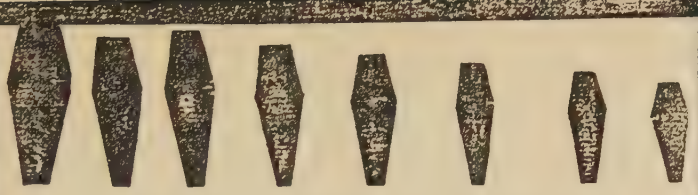
[Cuts of eight coffins] Murder—Horrible Murder !! / Clarksburg, Virginia, November, 1805. / Last night, Abel Clemmons . . . / Lines on the above Murder. / . . . [Morgantown? Joseph Campbell? 1805.]

Broadside. 27 x 44 (Text: 17 x 36.5) cm. 2 cols.

Description of, and fifteen verses on, the murder of his wife and eight children. In border. No imprint. Apparently unrecorded. Not in Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Poetry* (New York, P. Smith, 1930) or in either of the West Virginia imprint checklists. Printing is not known to have begun in Clarksburg until 1810. See Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1920* (Worcester, Massachusetts, American Antiquarian Society, 1947), II: 1170; American Imprints Inventory, *A Checklist of West Virginia Imprints* (Chicago, 1940), p. 54; and Douglas C. McMurtrie, *West Virginia Imprints . . . 1791-1830* (Charleston, West Virginia, Charleston High School Print Shop, 1936). It is therefore assumed that this was a product of Joseph Campbell's press at Morgantown.

There is a copy in the American Antiquarian Society.

John Cook Wyllie



MURDER—HORRIBLE MURDER!!

Clarksburg, Virginia, November, 1805.

LAST night, Abel Clemmons, at his place of residence upon the land of Col. George Jackson, within about half a mile of the town of Clarksburg, under circumstances of the most unprecedented cruelty, murdered his wife far advanced in pregnancy, and their eight small children, the eldest about 12 years old, by striking them on the head with an axe, while they were asleep in three separate beds, laying in the same room. The wounds that he gave, it is supposed, produced instantaneous death, dispatching one at a blow; and every circumstance induces a belief, that those last despatched, were unknowing to the catastrophe of the others. Clemmons had been preparing for some time for his removal to the state of Ohio. A man named Neisly, went early this morning to the house, and was admitted by Clemmons, who was in great agitation, and apparently in a state of insanity; the family as Neisly supposed were asleep, except a little girl neice of Clemmons, who staid all night in the house; but knew nothing that occurred. Neisly after conversing some time with Clemmons left the house unsuspicious of what had happened: a brother of Clemmons' who lived some miles off, soon afterwards came to the house and found him in it; he inquired where the family were: Clemmons said asleep; he approached one of the beds to awake the oldest boy, when he immediately discovered that all the children in it were murdered! He accused his brother with the crime, and then ran and alarmed the neighbors; before they assembled Clemmons had fled. Here was exhibited a scene the most shocking to relate; the wife and an infant in her arms lay in one bed, four daughters in another, two boys and one girl in a third, all murdered by the husband and the father; and what is very remarkable he had always lived with them in a most affectionate manner, and they bore the character of honesty and industry. Clemmons had been for several weeks in a gloomy melancholy mood, occasioned, it was supposed, by his great anxiety for the welfare of his family, and total disregard of the moral precepts for which we were made. He is about thirty three years old.

Lines on the above Murder.

ATTEND ye people and give ear,
And hear a horrid deed,
For such a thing was scarcely known;
'Twill astonish as you read.

The sun retir'd, and sable night
It's dusky mantle threw
O'er the cheering rays of light,
And darkness did ensue.

The lovely babes had then retir'd
To rest upon their beds;
Unknowing to any ill designs
That's forming o'er their heads.

When lo! arose an assassin wild,
Unfeeling and severe;
Children were by their father slain,
And she that did them bear.

A kind companion whom he lov'd
A day or two before;
(But now her murderer he prov'd;)
Lay weltering in her gore.

He kill'd his little offspring dear,
While sleep had clos'd their eyes;
The laws of nature he broke thro'—
And all its tender ties.

O harden'd wretch! void of all grace,
Such dreadful crimes to do!
Who ought protect his little race,
But turn'd to be their foe.

O! what a dismal—shocking sight
Presented to the view;
Their bodies all besmear'd with blood—
Done by a father too.

Unnatural wretch! The wild beasts
That roam, the thickest wood,
Will not destroy their offspring thus,
But guard their little brood.

O sinful man! how vile art thou
When void of virtue's light!
What horrid crimes will he commit,
When left to Satan's spight.

Fly swiftly round ye rolling years
And bring the happy day,
When man will be a friend to man,
And not their children slay.

Ah! how deprav'd is sinful man,
When left without controul;
When God withdraws his guardian hand,
Man soon destroys his soul.

How heedlessly he rushes on
To his own undoing!
Thoughtless he treads the fatal road
That leads to final ruin.

Ye careless, and ye young and gay,
Who run this road direct,
Learn to walk in wisdom's way,
And God will you protect.

Whose ways are ways of pleasantness,
And all her paths are peace,
Then happiness will be your lot,
And never more will cease.

Book Reviews

WRIGHT, LYLE H. *American Fiction, 1774-1850: a Contribution toward a Bibliography.* Revised edition. San Marino, California, 1948. xviii, 355 pp. 9 x 6 inches. $6.00. (Huntington Library Publications.)

The phrase American fiction, 1774-1850, probably calls to the minds of most readers such famous books as *The Last of the Mohicans, The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, The Scarlet Letter* and Poe's *Tales.* These and a few score more doubtless aroused as much or greater enthusiasm in contemporary readers as they do today with a posterity which has gradually come to regard them as American classics. Something like sixteen hundred others have been all but forgotten by modern readers.

However, to the social historian interested in tracing the reading tastes of the American public and in analysing the factors which have contributed to the development of an American culture, the relatively few works of fiction which have lived must be viewed merely as high-water marks in a steady stream of fictional production that fairly commenced with *The Power of Sympathy,* 1789 (Wright, 433), and has been running on at a constantly increasing rate ever since. The literary historian, likewise, is not content to accept the masterpieces as isolated phenomena, but finds it illuminating to consider them in relation to a host of less successful attempts. Beginning with *The Slave; or, Memoirs of Archy Moore,* written by the historian Richard Hildreth and published anonymously in 1836 (Wright, 1186), there were a good many antislavery novels before *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* An American whaling novel had been published seventeen years before *Moby Dick.* Poe's *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque,* 1840, was by no means the first example of supernaturalism in American fiction.

In cataloguing 1,767 titles of American prose fiction to 1851, Mr. Wright performs a service of inestimable value to all scholars who may prosecute studies within the field. The limits of the area have now been at least tentatively established. The source materials have been arrayed for a variety of investigations which, without the tool Mr. Wright has made available, would have to be pursued in darkness relieved only here and there by author-bibliographies and the work of a few specialists. It is in-

conceivable, for example, that if Mr. Wright's book had been in existence in 1936, when Arthur Hobson Quinn published his *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey*[1]—then the most exhaustive general work in the field—that that painstaking treatise would be marred by the omission of such names as Charles Frederick Briggs, Joseph C. Hart and Cornelius Mathews (Wright, 407-412, 1133-1134 and 1827-1837).

The risk of serious omission has now been greatly reduced for the investigator who desires to canvass any particular type of early American fiction. If he be interested in the historical novel, he will find that *genre,* which even today is seldom unrepresented on the best-seller lists, had its American origin in 1792 and has exhibited continuous popularity thereafter. He may even specialize within the field of American historical fiction. (Our language betrays that we are thinking of book collectors as well as working scholars.) Here in Mr. Wright's catalogue, ready to hand, are dozens of novels about the American Revolution; many based on the War of 1812; even a substantial crop of contemporary fiction growing out of the War with Mexico. Or he may wish to study the Colonial period. The Salem witchcraft epidemic of 1692, to cite just one episode, inspired enough novels, of which John Neal's *Rachel Dyer,* 1828 (Wright, 1948) was the most famous, though by no means the first, to provide the basis for an interesting monograph. Likewise the westward movement of the frontier is amply reflected in scores of tales. The Pacific Northwest became the subject of a novel as early as 1830 (Wright, 963), and Texas could boast a tale of her war of independence written by a native author eight years later (Wright, 1017).

The epistolary novel, the sentimental novel (engagingly handled by Herbert Ross Brown in *The Sentimental Novel in America: 1789-1860* [Durham, Duke University Press], published in 1940—and we fancy the earlier edition of the Wright bibliography stood him in good stead), the pedagogic novel, the utopian novel, the nautical novel, the development of the short story—these are only a few examples of the topics whose investigators will find Mr. Wright's book indispensable. Social historians will doubtless be grateful for the enhanced opportunity for studying the anti-slavery novel, the anti-seduction novel, the anti-sweatshop novel and the temperance novel. Not that Mr. Wright has in most instances identified these catagories as such; but the explorer of any one of them is now at the advantage of having a finite number of titles to examine, and, as we shall see, an indication of where copies are to be found.

[1] New York, Appleton-Century, 1936.

We have been at such pains to emphasize the value of Mr. Wright's bibliography as an aid to literary and sociological scholarship that we have violated what is doubtless the first principle of reviewing by failing at the outset to tell exactly what the book is. *American Fiction, 1774-1850* is a catalogue, alphabetical by authors and by titles under each author, of 1,767 American works of prose fiction (except juveniles, publications of religious societies, and a few other peripheral categories) written by Americans from the beginning through 1850. Beneath the first edition of each title, subsequent American editions prior to 1851 are listed in chronological order, bringing the total number of entries to 2,772. It is interesting to note that more than one-fifth of the total number of entries represents the work of five authors. The first five authors in order of number of entries (excluding cross-references) are

	Editions	*Titles*
James Fenimore Cooper	177	33
Timothy Shay Arthur	138	66
Joseph Holt Ingraham	108	83
Susanna (Haswell) Rowson	98	8
Washington Irving	87	13

Each entry gives author, title, number of pages, place of publication and date. The presence of full-page illustrations is generally noted. In many cases Mr. Wright provides brief but valuable notes concerning the locale and period of the story. The contents of collections of short stories are always listed in full. The compiler denies in his introduction any intention to furnish formal bibliographical data, and the book is accordingly of little value as a descriptive bibliography. However, the inclusion of subsequent editions furnishes valuable data to scholars concerned with publishing history or in tracing literary reputations. It may be of interest to note, for example, that despite the unparalleled popularity of *Charlotte Temple* (84 editions through 1850), it was a Gothic romance published the same year as the first American edition of *Charlotte*, 1794, and of unidentified authorship to this day, that enjoyed more eighteenth-century printings than any other native novel (Wright, 1197-1200).

The pioneer checklist of American fiction was compiled by Oscar Wegelin and published in 1902. Mr. Wegelin chose the year 1830 as his terminal date. The third and last revision of that work, which appeared in 1929, includes 218 titles.[2] From this total, for purposes of comparison, 44

[2] Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Fiction 1774–1830, a Compilation of the Titles of Works of Fiction by Writers Born or Residing in North America and Printed Previous to 1831*. 3d ed. corr. and enl. New York, Peter Smith, 1929.

may be deducted as not coming within the scope of Mr. Wright's survey—in most instances because of the latter's exclusion of non-American editions or because subsequent study of anonymous and pseudonymous publications has disclosed foreign authorship—leaving 174. The first edition of Mr. Wright's bibliography, issued in 1939, had 240 titles through the year 1830. The new edition adds 22. But the production of American fiction in all the years prior to 1831 was a mere trickle compared with the output of the next twenty years. As a consequence, even Mr. Wright's total for Mr. Wegelin's period represents only about one-seventh of the titles now catalogued through 1850. The wisdom of Mr. Wright's modest choice of a sub-title, "A Contribution toward a Bibliography," is demonstrated by the fact that he has been able in the new edition to add about 300 titles and 300 previously unrecorded editions to the totals in his 1939 compilation.

Another useful feature of the book is the inclusion, by a simple set of symbols, of locations for each entry wherever the edition is present in one or more of nineteen public or institutional libraries and two private collections. This is by no means tantamount to a census; but, if interpreted with understanding [*vide infra*], gives an excellent indication of relative rarity. Some of the libraries, such as American Antiquarian Society, Harvard, Library of Congress, New York Public, University of Pennsylvania and Yale, were selected because their holdings in the field are among the most extensive to be found in the country. Others, with relatively slender holdings, were evidently included in the interest of geographic distribution or because of strength in certain groups of regional imprints not to be found elsewhere. Two libraries, Boston Athenæum and New York Historical Society, have been added to those which were surveyed for the earlier edition.

The book has a complete title index, which makes it a simple matter to identify scores of anonymous and pseudonymous publications. An excellent feature of the new edition is an added chronological index, wherein the reader may see at a glance precisely what current fare was available to fiction readers in each year from 1792 through 1850. For American fiction was published during every one of those years, though prior to 1792 production was sparse.

Before saying something about the bearing of locations upon rarity, we wish to draw attention to a group of tales, all published in the 1840's, which, for want of a better name, we shall call pre-dime novels. Their principal authors, with the number of titles listed in each edition of Wright, is shown below.

	Titles in 1939	*Titles in 1948*
Charles E. Averill	11	12
Maturin Murray Ballou	10	16
Benjamin Barker	19	21
Emerson Bennett	10	10
Osgood Bradbury	26	30
Newton Mallory Curtis	11	16
Harry Halyard (pseudonym)	12	12
Joseph Holt Ingraham	78	83
Justin Jones	18	20
Edward Zane Carroll Judson	13	19
John Henry Mancur	6	11
John Hovey Robinson	7	12
	221	262

These pre-dime novels—some of which were later reprinted as dime novels pure and simple—were actually published at prices ranging upward from twelve and a half cents; were often illustrated with very crude wood-engravings; and frequently printed in double columns, especially during the last four years of the decade. The most popular subjects were love, war, murder, piracy, adventures with outlaws and Indians, and crime in general. The titles of these tales, often described by their publishers as "nouvelettes," give the best indication of their character. Here are a few examples: *The Cholera Fiend; or the Plague Spreaders of New York: A Mysterious Tale of The Pestilence of 1849* . . . by Averill (Wright, 199); *Fanny Campbell, the Female Pirate Captain: A Tale of the Revolution* by Ballou (Wright, 234); *The Nun of St. Ursula; or, the Burning of the Convent: A Romance of Mount Benedict* by Justin Jones (Wright, 1496). There can be little doubt that they appealed to the same audience as did the dime novels in the '60s and '70s, and satisfied approximately the same appetites as the comics do today.

For scores of the pre-dime novels, Mr. Wright has found only one location; in other cases he merely infers the existence of a work from a title-page deposited in the Library of Congress for copyright. All in all, with a few exceptions, this entire group of material appears to be rare, and there are compelling reasons why it should be. First, the format militated against survival; and of the copies which have come down to us, nineteen out of twenty owe their longevity to having found their way into bound volumes of pamphlets, almost always stripped of their original paper covers. Second, extreme contemporary popularity makes it probable that most copies

were "read to pieces" while still current. Third, and perhaps most important with respect to the problem of comparative rarity, it may be inferred that during a later age of excessive refinement, the era of Elbert Hubbard and William Morris, custodians of numerous public collections—men and women with the loftiest professional ideals and literary standards—conscientiously culled out and discarded as many of these cheap thrillers as they could lay their hands on.

As a consequence, the apparent rarity, for example, of more than a dozen titles by Joseph Holt Ingraham of which Wright locates but a single copy, or none at all, must be taken as being of a far less secure order than, again for example, the rarity of *Female Quixotism* by Tabitha Tenney (Boston, 1801) (Wright, 2547), the first American anti-romance, of which he locates the same two copies both in 1939 and 1948. For the former have been the object of antiquarian attention and professional search for only a relatively short space of time, since the social historians have discovered the value of this class of material and made their requirements known to librarians, and since private collectors in the field have broadened their interest to take into account factors other than artistic excellence. *Female Quixotism,* on the other hand, has been recognized as a minor literary classic for generations, and it may be assumed that the first edition has long been a desideratum of many more of the nineteen libraries surveyed by Mr. Wright than the single one that actually possesses a copy (the second copy being in one of the two private collections). Another excellent example of a book of unassailable rarity is *Winter Evenings: A Series of American Tales* (Philadelphia, 1829), by James Hall (Wright, 1104). The Huntington Library copy is the only one located. It was bought at auction in the sale of the library of Henry F. De Puy on January 26, 1920, when it fetched the modest price of $29. The cataloguer of the De Puy collection very justly describes it as "one of the rarest books of American fiction."

But what of the first edition of Charles Brockden Brown's *Ormond* (New York, 1799) (Wright, 424)—ten copies located; the first American edition of *Charlotte* [*Temple*] (Philadelphia, 1794) (Wright, 2159)—seven copies located; or, the first edition of *The Algerine Captive* (Walpole, New Hampshire, 1797) (Wright, 2628)—nine copies located? In these and numerous other cases the number of locations must be interpreted in the light of the knowledge that the books have been continuously famous and sought after for over a hundred years. Copies which may have been acquired by libraries generations ago have been carefully guarded. They are rare today.

It is to be hoped that in the next edition of his bibliography of American fiction Mr. Wright will carry the story forward through the year 1860.

JOHN S. VAN E. KOHN

THOMPSON, DONALD E., *comp. A Bibliography of Louisiana Books and Pamphlets in the T. P. Thompson Collection of the University of Alabama Library.* [University, Alabama], University of Alabama Press, 1947. vii, 210 pp. Planographed. 8½ x 5½ inches. $1.75. (University of Alabama Studies, no. 2.)

When, in 1939, the University of Alabama acquired the magnificent collection of Deep South volumes collected by the late T. P. Thompson, it was important news to all interested in research and writing about the region. Few private individuals had ever given so much time and intelligent energy to the gathering of printed data dealing with the lower Mississippi—New Orleans and Louisiana in particular, but extending through adjacent areas as well.

During the past decade the university library officials have received repeated calls from research students for check-list and other information about the Thompson material. And now a further valuable contribution has been made by Donald E. Thompson, assistant director of university libraries, with this accurate, painstaking bibliography of the collection. Not less welcome is the brief annotation of the items, and Mr. Thompson's groupings and listings by subject.

Some 3340 separate items in French and English are included, books and pamphlets, collections of pictures, brochures, essays and statistical summaries. Certain ephemera, dance programs, lecture programs, concerts and such, have been omitted. All in all, it appears probable that no serious writing about this region can hereafter be attempted without a study of this compilation. Almost a godsend to some will be the detailed index of authors and subjects.

Many of the volumes are to be classified as rare, though available in such places as Tulane University and the Louisiana State Museum. Others, especially the pamphlets, are extremely hard to locate; certain of them may be obtainable nowhere else in America. Especially provocative are a number of the political writings, with hints of highly-spiked accusations. (Traditionally Louisianians have taken their politics, like their liquor, straight and raw.) There is an interesting assortment of small works on cookery

and restaurants, the French Quarter and its customs, colored drawings, photographs and "souvenirs" of the 90's and earlier.

New Orleans has long been an important medical center, if only because of its long disregard of sanitation in a wet, swampy terrain; accordingly the materials on diseases and medicine seem particularly valuable. They range from controversies over quarantines and plagues to observations by the celebrated surgeon, Dr. Rudolph Matas, and items such as Dr. Isadore Dyer's *The Barber Shop in Society.*

Old legal briefs, recollections of famous law suits and briefs are listed with collections of ordinances, comptroller's reports, genealogical tracts and violent attacks against Negroes which came under the heading of "science" of the last century. Poetry and essays by Louisiana-born poets, who never wrote in English, will appeal to the literary scholar. There is, of course, a great deal on the river: floods, Mississippi hydrology, mud lumps, and steamboat gamblers.

It is a conglomerate, many-colored panorama of Louisiana itself—the descriptions left by travelers, the contributions of nuns who told of their labors in the semitropical vineyards, sprightly recollections of a lusty, gusty place, where most gentlemen were expected to have a box at the opera, a pair of duelling pistols, a quadroon mistress and a contempt for "Americain" newcomers. It is all New Orleans, and a yard wide.

HARNETT T. KANE

COULTER, E. MERTON. *Travels in the Confederate States; a Bibliography.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, MCMXLVIII. xiv, 289, [1]p. 9¼ x 6¼ inches. $7.50. (American Exploration and Travel Series [No. II].)

In this work the University of Oklahoma Press initiates a series of volumes to be known as the "American Exploration and Travel Series," of which this is the first to be published, though designated as the second in series.

If we accept W. W. Greg's definition of bibliography as the study of the physical structure of a book, this work is less a bibliography than a critical and selective catalog of books containing descriptions and accounts of travel in the South during the Civil War. Dr. Coulter has gone through a mass of personal narratives of witnesses and of participants of the War, and has chosen for discussion four hundred and ninety-two items which in his opinion are of scholarly importance as accounts of travels in the region.

Obviously Dr. Coulter has had to draw some fine distinctions, and he is aware that there will be inevitable disagreement as to the wisdom of some of his inclusions and omissions.

Although emphasis has been placed upon the discussion and evaluation of the works in question, Dr. Coulter does give some description of the books themselves. Each numbered entry gives the full name of the author when known and the years of his birth and death when readily available. The title-page and collation are given in accordance with standard American Library Association practices. However, Coulter also gives a description of the illustrations, a statement concerning other editions, and a note of the period of years covered. These are then followed by a paragraph of varying length concerning the scope and value of the work.

Since Dr. Coulter is essentially interested in texts and their significance rather than in physical description, it is perhaps gratuitous to comment on the technical aspects of the bibliography. It is doubtful if the book-collector or the bibliographer according to Greg will turn to this book for guidance. Yet there are a few such details which call for comment.

In giving the dates for certain authors he has left this reviewer quite baffled when he gives some in a form such as "1841/2". (Elsewhere he uses a form such as "1841 or 1842," so that on the surface there should be a distinction in meaning.) This practice makes sense in terms of the Old Style calendar through the year 1752, but in the nineteenth century the usage is apparently meaningless.

In terms of the editions described, Dr. Coulter has followed no consistent practice, selecting as he does in some cases the first, and elsewhere, later editions. By mentioning other editions he implies more than he accomplishes, for he has not been thorough in indicating them. He does not, for instance, cite the 1946 edition of John Beatty's *The Citizen-Soldier* issued under the title *Memoirs of a Volunteer*, although the earlier edition is presumably less readily available, while Daniel G. Kelley's *What I Saw . . . in Rebel Prisons* was also reissued in 1868. That other cases of these oversights exist is probable.

Despite the fact Dr. Coulter defends himself against criticism on his selections and omissions, it is impossible not to wonder how broad his investigations and how wide his reading have been. Certainly such a work as Mrs. Mary Ann Webster Loughborough's *My Cave Life in Vicksburg with Letters of Trial and Travel* (New York, 1864) is not inferior in merit to works Coulter describes as "adding little or nothing," of "little value," or of "questionable value." This omission, and that of other works,

suggest that Coulter's selections may be on occasion the result of chance rather than of judgment. Surely the scholar will not wish to rely upon this work alone as an approach to the subject.

Although the treatment of title entries is unpleasantly awkward, the volume is on the whole very creditably designed and printed. A somewhat keener editorial eye might have eliminated numerous minor typographic errors, which while trifling frequently prove disconcerting. A detailed index adds greatly to the usefulness of the book.

JOHN ALDEN

BOYD, JULIAN P. *The Scheide Library.* ([Princeton, New Jersey], Privately printed, 1947.) 172 pp.

For many years the Scheide Library was a collection that many scholars, bibliographers, and booksellers talked about, but few had seen. Now Mr. Julian P. Boyd, distinguished librarian of Princeton University, gives us a fascinating account of its contents and—even more important and more fascinating—the story of its growth, together with sketches of the men who built the collection.

William Taylor Scheide, the founder of the collection, went as a young man in 1864 to western Pennsylvania, where he worked his way up in the newly-established petroleum industry to a position of prominence and a considerable fortune. That by itself is no extraordinary tale. What is remarkable is that in the singularly unsympathetic environment of the oil frontier and amid all the turmoil of a career in the brawling young industry, Scheide should have laid the firm foundations of a notable scholar's and collector's library.

The manuscript catalogue of the collection as it stood in 1874 (ten years after its inception) is happily extant, and its twelve hundred titles reveal the activities of a vigorous and inquiring mind. There is little evidence of the collector of rare volumes, but abundant evidence of the scholar in the list that runs through the standard British authors and afield to Turgenev and Stendhal, that goes deeply into British and American history and biography, that adumbrates various other directions in which the library was to grow. The glimpse that this account affords into an unexpected corner of American cultural history is one of the most interesting and rewarding sections of Mr. Boyd's book.

Having observed the Scheide Library so shortly after its beginning, it is likewise interesting to be able to examine its further development under

the hand of its founder. W. T. Scheide died in 1907, and soon thereafter his son, John Hinsdale Scheide, compiled another catalogue of the collection. In thirty-three years some six hundred new titles had been added; and certain significant changes are to be noted. There is increased emphasis on early books. Where the *Nuremberg Chronicle* was the sole incunable in 1874, nearly a dozen books printed before 1500 could be counted in 1907; and certain sixteenth-century English lawbooks made their appearance. It was still not a book-collector's library, for the condition of many copies left a good deal to be desired. Yet a metamorphosis was taking place.

For some ten years the collection lay virtually dormant. Its few accessions were only enough to show that interest in it was not dead. Then, in the twenties and early thirties, John Hinsdale Scheide entered the lists as a collector and the great flowering of the Scheide Library took place. And here the significance of his father's work is strikingly apparent. As the library changed the course of its development in one sense, in another it continued solidly along the lines of its early development. Rare books and manuscripts began to dominate the shelves, but their acquisition was not dictated by whim or ostentation. For example, an early interest in the history of printing and the arts of the book, first observable in 1874 in a small shelf of reference books and later in the slowly-acquired incunables, now manifested itself in a magnificent series of specimens of the early presses, highlighted by a Gutenberg Bible, a sheaf of early Donatuses, and the unique Bull of Calixtus III against the Turks, printed at Mainz in 1456. These are complemented by a variety of manuscript materials, ranging from clay tablets and papyri through a distinguished group of Biblical manuscripts to a fine thirteenth-century *Magna Carta* and the famous Blickling Homilies, the only important Anglo-Saxon manuscript remaining in private hands.

But there is no point in re-retailing the wonders of this library to which Mr. Boyd is such an urbane and knowing guide. It is enough to say that there are Caxtons to be seen, and a long run of Latin and vernacular Bibles, and the perfect Holford copy of the first *Pilgrim's Progress*, and a large and important section of Americana. All these represent the more or less organic growth of the library as originally brought together by William Taylor Scheide. It is only when we turn to fields removed from his early interests (as in the chapter entitled "A Few Landmarks in the History of Ideas") that real weaknesses appear. Thus the Scheide Library preaches its sermon to the collector: to follow the lines of natural growth

and eschew the artificial; to cover a few things thoroughly rather than many things superficially.

Mr. Boyd's book is in no sense a catalogue, but rather a rapid survey of high spots, seasoned with many wise and witty remarks about libraries and collecting. What he says about the rarity of certain books and the location of other copies needs to be examined closely and critically, for he has occasionally relied for information on such outdated sources as the Church Catalogue. But he nowhere pretends to be doing other than what he set out to do—to provide a general guide-book to an important and almost unknown collection; and this he does very well indeed. Bookmen and scholars in numerous fields will find cause to be grateful to Mr. Boyd for an interesting and eminently readable book.

WILLIAM H. BOND

Updike: American Printer and his Merrymount Press. Notes on the Press and its Work by Daniel Berkeley Updike. With a Gathering of Essays by Stanley Morison, Gregg Anderson, T. M. Cleland, M. A. De Wolfe Howe, George Parker Winship, Rudolph Ruzicka, David T. Pottinger, [and] *Carl P. Rollins, and a Gallery of Merrymount Title-pages and Types.* New York, The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1947. 156 pp. + 44 pp. of specimens. 5⅞ x 9¼ inches. $3.50; to Members of the AIGA, $1.

This book, the first of a series on the Graphic Arts and the Arts of the Book to be published by the American Institute of Graphic Arts, is a memorial to Daniel Berkeley Updike, one of the greatest American printers of this century. At the same time it is a monument to the press he established in 1893 and continued to supervise until his death in 1941. But even more, from this variegated collection of papers by his colleagues and friends, there emerges the portrait of a man, devout and restrained almost to asceticism, sensitive and shy, an idealist of strong character whose high seriousness was blessedly tempered, however, by an urbane humor, a sharp defensive wit, and a preoccupation with the niceties of living. A specialist in liturgical printing and in privately printed memoirs, diaries, memorials, and books of verse, Updike produced meticulous volumes for New York and other trade publishers (notably Scribner's), for book clubs, for institutions and business firms, for private individuals, and for himself as his own publisher. Only seldom did he print classics or already famous books; these were fields into which regrettably he ventured only once or twice. But as a maker of well-planned, tasteful, painstaking volumes, orderly in

design, and scrupulously accurate, D. B. Updike will be long remembered.

Inevitably, in a book of this kind, the question must arise as to why a man who never roistered in the tavern, or bowled, or danced around a May-pole in lilac-time, should have chosen for his press a name reminiscent of that unregenerate provoker of the saints of Puritan New England, Thomas Morton, and his establishment just outside their reach. Perhaps it was because as a Rhode Islander he was himself a High Church descendant of men who were not permitted to live on Massachusetts Bay. But better still, perhaps we should believe the words of the printer himself: "the Press took its name from the fancy that one could work hard and have a good time. . . . It is enough for the purpose of The Merrymount Press, if, in disregard of any analogies or paradoxes with which curious persons bewilder themselves, we regard the Maypole as a symbol of happiness found in workaday things; of a high aim and pleasure in trying to attain it, an ideal to which The Merrymount Press has always endeavoured to be true." Of hard work there was certainly plenty in the life of Daniel B. Updike.

Of the collection of papers here printed, two about Updike were written during his lifetime, four were written shortly after his death in 1941, and two were written especially for the present book.

The volume opens with the printer's own modest account of his career, reprinted from *Notes on the Merrymount Press and its Work* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1934). Stanley Morison, editor of the *Times Literary Supplement*, follows with an essay, written for the present publication and entitled *Recollections and Perspectives*. There are reprints of introductions to guides to Merrymount exhibitions by the late Gregg Anderson and by David T. Pottinger, and of an "Atlantic Portrait," by M. A. De Wolfe Howe; and there are personal tributes and reminiscences by T. M. Cleland, the illustrator and designer; George Parker Winship, the bibliographer; Rudolph Ruzicka, the wood engraver; and Carl Purington Rollins, printer to Yale University.

As its editor, Peter Beilenson, observes

> The book comes naturally . . . to have the defects and virtues of a compilation of this kind. There are, for example, duplications of fact and anecdote, even after numerous editorial surgeries. There is also an occasional and natural tendency in the printer's friends to romanticize him or his attitudes. There is a hesitation to make adverse criticism. These are qualifications which the student would do well to note. On the other hand, the book has the virtue of being an unusual record

of opinion, appreciation, and personal experience written down by contemporary specialists who knew intimately the man and his work.

This is a fair summary.

The book has been printed by Peter Beilenson, Mount Vernon, and bound by the Russell Rutter Company, New York. Not the least attractive feature of the volume is the collection of title-pages, many reproduced in two colors. The subject, however, deserved much better register than that exemplified in the copy before this reviewer.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

THORPE, JAMES, *comp. A Bibliography of The Writings of George Lyman Kittredge.* With an introduction by Hyder Edward Rollins. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948. xiv, 125 pp. 8½ x 5¾ inches. $2.50.

Here we have a delightful bit of printing, a memorable interpretation of the subject, an impressive example of extensive research, of persistent digging, of indefatigable study of the sources.

And at the same time we have a striking demonstration of how completely and hopelessly inadequate is a "bibliography," a list of titles of printed pieces, when it comes to giving an effective index of or a guide to the character, ability, personality of a man.

Here is a list of 383 titles of writings by George Lyman Kittredge, with an appendix of twenty-six "remarks" or comments or observations by him at various times and on various occasions. In date the range is from 1869 —yes, 1869—to 1946, the first the diary entry of a nine-year-old boy, the last a title of a text edited by Kittredge but not published until five years after his death. A subject index rearranges and summarizes the chronological primary entries into fourteen divisions, a fairly catholic and comprehensive spread. Half a dozen or so cite books of considerable size, one notes the edition of Shakespeare's complete works, the rest are shorter or longer articles in periodicals, reviews of books, editions of texts, and so on.

Three hundred and eighty-three pieces printed or written over seventy-seven years. One for every seventy-two days! Certainly a good, long stretch of time. Certainly a good, broad stretch of subject. How on earth could any mortal man—except a supreme example of superficial garrulity—turn out anything like that! And on top of it all, the man was supposed to be a teacher, wasn't he? And wouldn't that in turn seem to call for a little time for preparation of classroom work as well as lifetime work? How

can there be anything noteworthy—except as to size—in such a string of reviews and contributions to periodicals? What evidence is there of scholarship or productive research? There must be a mistake somewhere, for sure!

Ask the man that knew Kittredge, however. Or, accept Professor Rollins' picture in the Introduction as a fitting likeness. You will then learn quickly that it is all one true story. The man was a marvel, unique in breadth and width and solidity of scholarship and knowledge, unusual in pungency of expression, supreme in the lasting impression he gave anyone lucky enough to be in touch with him even for a short time or on a passing occasion. For most with such a good fortune the memory is a happy one. For some the snap of the reply or comment may have stung. But, the man was never ill-natured or ungenerous, was always penetrating to the essence of the question, final and conclusive in his pronouncements, completely characteristic, completely George Lyman Kittredge.

He was always the scholar, one of the men most highly respected and most widely recognized in his particular fields for his time and his day. He was also the teacher, inspiring, stimulating, exciting the admiration and respect and affection of his students. A real character, a real institution in the Harvard Yard, outstanding, unforgettable.

Professor Rollins' introduction goes far to tell about the man. It goes far enough for a sketch, far enough to force hopes for a more comprehensive study and interpretation of the man and the place he held at Harvard for six decades. If that is not assured there is grave danger that later generations may find it progressively harder to recognize or even admit the "Kitty" tradition.

But, this is supposed to be a review of Dr. Thorpe's bibliography, not an appreciation of Kittredge the man or the teacher. The list is just as nearly complete and perfect as seems given to man to accomplish. It covers the amazing stretch of seventy-seven years. It shows digging into sources down past the foundation and into the footings. It offers a charming typographic picture, printed and presented in a type fitting to the spirit of the book and the subject. Design and display, title-page and text page, binding and cover labels are a joy to look at. The Club of Odd Volumes must have a real satisfaction as it recalls how the President, Augustus P. Loring, Jr., led the members to make possible the publication.

The final paragraph by Professor Rollins comes close to comprehensive finality, makes the reader hope for more, wish he himself might ever be able to draw such a picture. Dr. Thorpe may well be satisfied with what he has done and with the way he has shown us the results.

The comment above on the bibliography was written before Dr. Rollo Walter Brown's " 'Kitty' of Harvard" greeted us in the October *Atlantic Monthly*.* The bibliography is the skeleton, the statistical inventory, the foundation essential for any study or appreciation of the man. The *Atlantic* tribute is a portrait of the man, a picture of the personality. The former is a basis for study of the structure. The latter is a portrayal of the unique teacher and scholar, thorough and final in his daily contacts and his written word, explosive in his indignation and wrath, gentle and kindly and sympathetic and understanding in his friendship, a phenomenon and apparition never forgotten by anyone fortunate enough to see or even to touch the fringes.

H. M. Lydenberg

Hazen, Allen Tracy. *A Bibliography of Horace Walpole.* New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1948. 189 pp. Facsimiles. 7⅜ x 10 inches. $12.00.

The present compilation of Walpoliana completes the full-dress bibliography of Horace Walpole begun with the publication of the same editor's *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press* (Yale University Press, 1942). The earlier volume dealt with works printed at Walpole's private press at Strawberry Hill; the present one lists and describes Walpole's own writings, regardless of where they were printed. The whole is in effect a history of Horace Walpole's literary career, and it leaves a very definite impression of this literary amateur as a general man of letters rather than merely as the brilliant correspondent he is usually thought of as having been. Here is the record of an astonishing variety of productions. As Mr. Hazen remarks,

> Much of Horace Walpole's writing was ephemeral, and much that was important was so closely bound up with the confused politics of the time that it retains little interest now for the average reader. It is worth observing, too, that his books sometimes stirred more interest than their intrinsic worth warranted. . . . But Walpole's work is of major importance to all who are in any way concerned with the political, social, and artistic history of the eighteenth century.

Here are described *The Lessons for the Day* (1742), a Biblical parody and satire on William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, and his friends as place-hunters, which escaped into print and begat numerous additions and continuations;

* Reprinted in Dr. Brown's *Harvard Yard in the Golden Age* (N. Y., A. A. Wyn, 1948). *Editor.*

Aedes Walpolianae: or, a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk (1747); *A Letter to the Whigs, Occasion'd by the Letter to the Tories,* by George Lyttelton, followed by a *Second and a Third Letter* (both 1748); *A Letter from Xo Ho, a Chinese Philosopher in London to his Friend Lien Chi in Peking* (1757), a satirical piece from which Oliver Goldsmith may have picked up a name for his more famous *Citizen of the World; The Castle of Otranto* (1765), Walpole's most famous *opus,* the later editions of which form an impressive list, not the least interesting of which is a new translation into French (Dijon, 1943), by the seventeen-year-old Dominique Corticchiato, who was sent to a labor camp during the German occupation of France and never seen again; *Historic Doubts on Richard III* (1768), a defense of the last Plantagenet based upon Sir George Buck's less well-known work (1646), and translated into French by Louis XVI in the Tuileries on the eve of the French Revolution; the *Memoirs of the Reigns of George II and George III* (published, 1822-1859), perhaps Walpole's most important work, a commentary upon English politics from 1750 to 1790; numerous introductions or editorial contributions to innumerable works of other authors, including Gray's *Elegy Wrote in a Country Church Yard* (1751); epilogues to plays written by his friends; essays in *The World* (1753) and other periodicals, as well as the trifling satirical *Letter from the King of Prussia to Rousseau,* printed in *St. James's Chronicle* (1766), and the provocation of a quarrel between David Hume and the French philosopher to which the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* allots a special sub-section (11:951). Even the man's trifles raised excessive dust.

This bibliography is based in large part upon the collection of Wilmarth S. Lewis at Farmington. From a bibliographical point of view the volume is less interesting than the Strawberry Hill volume which preceded it. There are fewer fugitive pieces, fewer variant issues, and no forgeries. But intrinsically, the later volume is more important; it rounds out the picture of Walpole's amazingly varied scribbling activities. Some additions and corrections to the Strawberry Hill volume will be found on pp. 11-13; facsimiles of early title-pages, in original size whenever possible, decorate the volume. Some deserve a cleaner reproduction, however, than they have received.

Karl J. Holzknecht

Letter to the Editor

The Editor
PAPERS *of the Bibliographical Society of America*
Sir:

Doubtless through an oversight I was not given the usual opportunity for a brief comment, in the same issue, on Mr. P. S. Dunkin's recent strictures (*BSA*, XLII [1948]: 239-255) on the criteria which I have suggested for differentiating *state* from *issue* in hand-printed books (*BSA*, XLI [1947]: 271-292). In spite of the rather oddly controversial tone which Mr. Dunkin chose to adopt, I shall not take advantage of your courtesy at this later date by any rejoinder in detail. In the ordinary course of events one has one's original say in print and should not feel that a formal reply is necessary for every disagreement with one's views which thereupon develops. I shall content myself, for this reason, chiefly with urging any reader who is interested in the subject of bibliographical definitions to refer back to my original article rather than to trust to a second-hand account.

However, since certain questions have been raised, a few brief statements on matters of principle may serve to sharpen the necessarily condensed presentation of my views first made in this journal.

I cannot as a bibliographer accept the complacent notion that *issue* is something everybody knows but nobody can define, and I have not found this simple faith to be of much help in solving complex problems of descriptive bibliography. My article, accordingly, was addressed to the writers of descriptive bibliographies who must deal with such problems, and I hoped that my opening pages made sufficiently clear the fact that I was attempting to establish certain general criteria which could apply only to descriptive bibliography. On the other hand, Mr. Dunkin approaches my proposals as if they had been designed for detailed application to library card cataloguing, an impracticable ideal which I did not suggest and have never contemplated.

The gist of his conclusion is a plea, or perhaps a warning, for descriptive bibliographers to join cataloguers in adherence to the standards of current usage, which he equates with the *A. L. A. Glossary of Library Terms*. As a consequence, an unduly sentimental view is taken of the "traditional terms which bibliographers and cataloguers have shared during the years of

Bibliography's phenomenal progress." My own investigations have led me, on the contrary, to the belief that almost from the moment when descriptive bibliography divorced itself from cataloguing and became a separate *genre*, its history has been marked by an ever-increasing divergence from cataloguing in method and especially in the meaning and application of bibliographical terminology, including that devoted to classification.

A single instance may be selected from a number of examples contained in two modern bibliographies for which I have high admiration. A cataloguer or the compiler of a checklist is trained to classify as a separate *issue* any substantive variation in the imprint of a title-page without enquiring whether this variation results from an alteration in press during the printing of the forme containing the original page or from a cancellans title-leaf. Truly bibliographical classification, as in this instance I have endeavored to interpret it from such a source as Greg's *English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, treats as a separate *issue* only a book having a cancellans title-leaf under these conditions, reserving press-variant alterations of stationers' names and even of date as simply *variant states*. This is also the position of McKerrow. The *Pforzheimer Catalogue* concurs with Greg's practice except that press-altered dates are usually classified as creating separate *issues*.

For simple reference purposes the cataloguer's classification is good enough, and on practical grounds it seems to have been adopted, at least in part, because the average cataloguer is not concerned to distinguish a press-altered title from a cancellans owing to the fact that he must usually make up his entry without the opportunity for a direct comparison of multiple copies. Yet when Mr. Dunkin, as a cataloguer, suggests that bibliographers like McKerrow, Greg, and Jackson have been quite wrong, for example, in their principles for treating press-variant imprints in a manner different from "current usage," I am not sure how much weight we ought to give to his opinions.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I state my strong conviction that serious harm to scholarship can result from confusing the aims and methods of cataloguers and descriptive bibliographers. I believe we should clearly recognize that dealing as it does with the analysis, classification, and description of books for scholarly purposes leading directly to textual criticism, descriptive bibliography must have more highly specialized and exacting standards. To satisfy its necessarily high ideals requires a prior training and experience in analytical bibliography which, being hard won, is not as yet very common. Libraries, in contrast, and the writers of catalogues and checklists, are required to describe books only for reference purposes, not to analyze and evaluate them. The standards employed are perforce

adjusted to the capabilities of personnel engaged in mass production. This is said in no deprecatory spirit, for we should all be lost without proper cataloguing and there is as huge an amount of most necessary and important work still to be done as has already been accomplished.

But the view that descriptive bibliography is only more detailed cataloguing suggests a basic misunderstanding. Bibliographers, I am sure, would agree that no description could properly be called bibliographical if it is not founded on the prior analysis of the book with all the available techniques of critical bibliography. By this process we may arrive rather simply at a more accurate and meaningful description of a book than is possible by the non-analytical cataloguing standards which have been described.[1] Naturally, the shades of meaning of the terminology used must differ according to the precision of the method, and when Mr. Dunkin demands that bibliographers restrict themselves to cataloguing terminology, he is in effect demanding that they stop thinking bibliographically. Dr. Greg felt no compunction in following his bibliographical principles to their logical conclusions and in numerous instances adopting a different classification for the books he treats in *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* from that which had previously been assigned to them in the *Short-title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640*. I should hesitate to argue that he was ill-advised thus to violate "current usage" as we have had it defined.

Therefore, as one who is engaged in descriptive bibliography, I feel myself obliged to disagree with any professional cataloguer who argues that descriptive bibliography must conform to cataloguing standards. Well suited as they may be to use in libraries and in certain kinds of catalogues, these standards are wholly inadequate for the purposes of rigorous bibliographical research.

FREDSON BOWERS

[1] Another clearcut example may be useful here to illustrate my point, since my view is now questioned that the logic of bibliographical analysis gives a meaning to its resulting descriptions which does not result from the methods or objectives of cataloguers. In some books the early pulls of a title-gathering may contain a faulty date because of a misprint, although by press-correction many copies print the true date, as in a book misdated 1691 in some copies although the majority have the press-altered state giving the date correctly as 1695. I do not question the advisability of most catalogues listing these variant forms of the title as constituting two *issues:* the prime purpose of a catalogue is to identify books for reference. Privately I could wish that a cataloguer would employ *issue* rather more accurately than this, as he surely ought to be able to do, but I should not demand that he do so in any catalogue I had occasion to use. On the other hand, if a descriptive bibliographer—who perforce had analyzed the printing—denominated these variants as *issues*, I should consider his analysis inadequate and, indeed, false.

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